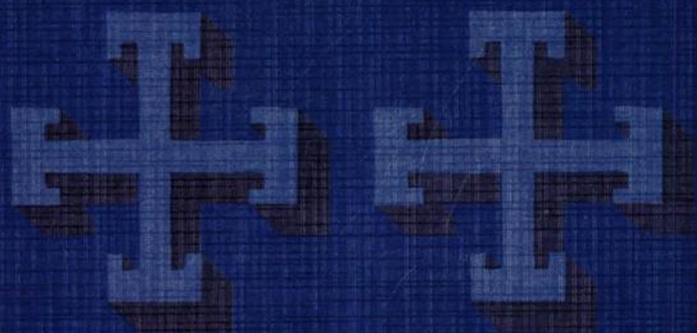


*Anonymi
Monophysitae
Theosophia*

AN ATTEMPT

AT RECONSTRUCTION



BY

PIER FRANCO

BEATRICE

SUPPLEMENTS TO
VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE

Formerly Philosophia Patrum

TEXTS AND STUDIES OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LIFE
AND LANGUAGE

EDITORS

J. DEN BOEFT — R. VAN DEN BROEK — W.L. PETERSEN
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ANONYMI MONOPHYSITAE THEOSOPHIA

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Paulae uxori carissimae

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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I first encountered the *Theosophy* in 1989, during my many years of research into Porphyry's treatise against the Christians.¹ The *Theosophy* is a text that is difficult to interpret, and rarely receives much attention from scholars. It attracted my curiosity right from the start, stimulating me to investigate the philological aspects and contents, in a work that has proven satisfying, though there have been moments of fatigue and discouragement.

A number of indispensable preparatory contributions, to which I refer the reader for further analysis, and the results of which are exploited here, were presented and discussed on the occasion of various international conferences: the 10th Congress of the North American Patristics Society in Chicago in 1994; the 3rd Meeting of the International Society for the Classical Tradition in Boston in 1995; again in 1995 the Congress on the Christian apocryphal literature in Lausanne and Geneva, and the 12th Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford; in 1996 the Congress on the Christian Apologists and Greek culture at the Institut Catholique of Paris; in 1997 at the Belgian Academy of Rome the Congress on the religious syncretisms of the ancient Mediterranean world; and finally, both in 1999, the 13th Patristic Conference of Oxford and the 11th International Congress of Classical Studies at Kavala (Greece). I have grateful memories of all the people with whom I exchanged opinions on those occasions and from whom I received precious advice and suggestions. To all I express my sincere, unconditioned thanks.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the scientific Institutions which facilitated my research, generously providing me with manuscripts, microfilms and all the necessary bibliographic material: St. Mark's Library in Venice; the Biblioteca Estense in Modena; the Vatican Library; the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies in Rome; the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich; the Universitätsbibliothek in Tübingen; the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris; the Greek section of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes again in Paris.

¹ The complete list of my publications on the subject can be found in P.F. Beatrice, "Porphyrius", in *TRE* XXVII (1997), pp. 54-59.

I have had the opportunity to enlarge and deepen my knowledge of Greek religion and philosophy thanks to the long and fruitful collaboration with the "Mentor" project of the "Centre d'Histoire des Religions" of Liège University. The positive conclusion of my research was made possible thanks to the generous hospitality of the Theology Department of Boston College, where I spent the whole, unforgettable academic year 1998/99 as Joseph Professor of Patristic Theology.

Finally, my warm thanks go to the members of the Editorial Board of the series "Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae", who have done me the honour of accepting this manuscript, and to Mr. Theo Joppe, Ms. Julie Plokker and Mr. Pim Rietbroek of the publishing house Brill, whose kind cooperation and support through the publication process have been very helpful.

Let benevolent readers judge the quality of the work. For the moment I assume full responsibility for any gaps or errors that there might be. I am perfectly aware that, in publishing a critical edition of this text, I am treading new ground, with the inevitable risks that this involves. The reconstruction of the *Theosophy* has been in fact no easier a task than that attempted hitherto for other works of classical Antiquity which have been lost, such as Aristotle's *Protrepticus*² or Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles*.³ I hope that other scholars will manage to do a better job in the future, also thanks to this present effort!

Padua, June 29, 2000

feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul

² One can find a well-informed presentation of the relevant problems in A.-H. Chroust, *Aristotle. New light on his life and on some of his lost works*, vol. II: *Observations on some of Aristotle's lost works*, London, 1973, pp. 86-104 and 332-345: "A Brief Account of the Reconstruction of Aristotle's *Protrepticus*".

³ See G. Wolff, *Porphyrii de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda librorum reliquiae*, Berlin, 1856. This old and precious book was reprinted at Hildesheim in 1962, but no one has dared so far to publish a new edition. On this question see P.F. Beatrice, "Towards a New Edition of Porphyry's Fragments against the Christians", in ΣΟΦΙΗΣ ΜΑΙΗΤΟΡΕΣ. "Chercheurs de sagesse". *Hommage à Jean Pépin* (Études Augustiniennes—Série Antiquité, 131), Paris, 1992, pp. 347-355.

INTRODUCTION

1. *From Steuchus to Erbse*

The incomplete text of the *Theosophy* has come down to us by utter chance. One fragment after another, it has gradually come to light, taking shape thanks to a series of fortuitous discoveries of individual passages handed down by several manuscripts kept in a number of libraries in Europe.

Certain oracles we now read in the *Theosophy* were quoted as long ago as the sixteenth century by the Italian humanist and bishop, Augustinus Steuchus, in his *De perenni philosophia*.¹ We do not know, however, which manuscripts he used; the variant readings he adopted are in any case of the highest interest. In particular, he quoted the following oracles: I,2 in III,15; I,4+18 in III,16; I,5 (just a few lines) in II,19 and III,17; I,15, 16 and 22 in III,17; I,24+26 in III,14; I,39 in III,16.

However, the modern history of the scientific reconstruction of the *Theosophy* really only begins with the *Supplément à l'Anthologie grecque* by the French scholar N. Piccolos, who was the first to publish twelve oracles Ἐκ τῆς Θεοσοφίας found in the manuscript *Florent. Laurent. plut.* 32,16, fol. 379v–380r, of the thirteenth century.² A few years later, in the appendix to his edition of Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles*, the German scholar Gustav Wolff published thirteen oracles from two manuscripts, again the *Florent. Laurent. plut.* 32,16 and the *Neapol. Borb.* II F 9 of the fourteenth century.³

These oracles, mentioned by Steuchus, Piccolos and Wolff, can also be read in a manuscript belonging to the University Library of Tübingen, identified as *Tub. Mb* 27 in Wilhelm Schmid's catalogue.⁴

¹ This work was published for the first time in Lyons in 1540.

² N. Piccolos, *Supplément à l'Anthologie grecque*, Paris, 1853, pp. 173–186.

³ See G. Wolff, *Porphyrii de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda*, pp. 229–240. These oracles were also reprinted by E. Cougny, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et Appendice Nova*, t. III, Parisiis, 1890, cap. VI.

⁴ W. Schmid, *Systematisch-alphabetischer Hauptkatalog der königlichen Universitätsbibliothek zu Tübingen, M. Handschriften. B. Griechische. Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften der königlichen Universitäts-Bibliothek*, Tübingen 1902, pp. 51–53.

It is a miscellaneous paper codex comprising 186 sheets, written by Martin Crusius' pupils for their master. In 1579, one of these, Bernhard Haus, had only partially transcribed the contents of a manuscript belonging to Johannes Reuchlin, the famous codex *Argentoratensis gr. 9* (thirteenth or fourteenth century) containing the so-called *Epistle to Diognetus*, which was to be destroyed in 1870 during the Prussian bombing of the City Library of Strasbourg.⁵ On fol. 67r-87r of the Tübingen copy there is a short collection of oracles and philosophical sayings under the title Χρησμοὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν, *Oracles of the Greek gods*.

This transcription is certainly partial and the title is not the original one. In fact, we know from Henri Estienne that this collection of oracles was entitled *Theosophia*. This is exactly the same title also known to Piccolos and Wolff.⁶ Despite this, for us the Tübingen apograph is the only source left, and it is all the more precious if we think that another copy of the Strasbourg manuscript, composed between 1586 and 1592 by Johannes J. Beurer, professor at Freiburg im Breisgau, seems to have been completely lost.⁷

It was not until 1881, three centuries later, that Karl J. Neumann announced that he had discovered the Tübingen manuscript, and that he would shortly proceed with the complete publication of the fragments that it contained.⁸ But the *editio princeps* of the work, that since then has been commonly referred to as the *Tübingen Theosophy*, was to be the work of another German philologist, Karl Buresch, who brought it to light a few years later as an appendix to his dissertation on the oracle of Claros.⁹

⁵ For more information see H.I. Marrou, *À Diognète* (SC 33 bis), Paris, 1965, pp. 8 ff.

⁶ H. Stephanus, *Iustini philosophi et martyris Epistula ad Diognetum et Oratio ad Graecos nunc primum luce et Latinitate donatae*, Paris, 1592, p. VIII: *Sed quum librum quendam, qui 'Theosophia' vocatur, (is non aliud quam oraculorum synagogen quandam habet) simul cum his Iustini opusculis in lucem venire idem Beurerus cuperet, nec alia ratione niteretur quam quod in eodem illo volumine unde haec Iustini sumpta sunt inveniat: ego duabus de causis eius assentiri desiderio nolui, ac ne potui quidem. Una est, quod nihil ad Iustini argumentum illa faciant: nec mirum sit tamen istis eius libellis ibi subiungi, quum veteres scripta diversa, et nihil omnino commune inter se habentia, in uno eodemque volumine consuenda curarent. Altera, quod non solum bona pars illorum oraculorum apud varios scriptores exstet, et plerique illius 'Theosophiae' loci emendari inde possint, sed multo etiam plura colligi ex iis queant: ut olim, quum aliquid temporis eidem collectioni tribuissem, cognovi.*

⁷ See J.C.T. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum christianorum saeculi secundi*, vol. III, t. II, Jena, 1879, 3rd ed., pp. XXIV ff.

⁸ K.J. Neumann, "Über eine den Brief an Diognet enthaltende Tübinger Handschrift Pseudo-Justin's", *ZKG* 4 (1881), pp. 284-287.

⁹ K. Buresch, *Klaros. Untersuchungen zum Orakelwesen des späteren Altertums nebst einem*

Nevertheless, it would never have been possible to understand the original structure and meaning of this strange and disorderly collection of oracles of Greek gods, sayings of Greek and Egyptian sages and Sibylline oracles, and therefore its real place in the history of early Christianity if, in 1906, Karl Mras had not published a text he had discovered in Rome in the sixteenth-century codex *Ottobon. gr.* 378, fol. 18r–25v.¹⁰ Mras had no difficulty in demonstrating that the Roman codex contained an original passage from the *Theosophy*, whereas the text transmitted by the Tübingen manuscript was to be considered a late epitome, at times imprecise and unfaithful, the author of which intentionally took his distance from the original, expressing diverging opinions in some points.

Mras' conclusions were rightly accepted by a young German philologist, Hartmut Erbse, who, in the dark years of the Second World War, published a collection of several Greek theosophical texts under the title *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*.¹¹

In his extensive and detailed introduction Erbse dissected, with admirable philological insight, the relationships between the numerous manuscripts belonging to a tradition that is highly complicated and problematic because of the absence of reliable external data of reference. The two main pieces of Erbse's collection are the epitome from the Tübingen manuscript (= T) edited by Buresch, which he designated as θ , and the original passage published by Mras, which he designated as Θ . He then added some other small collections of sayings which reveal more or less close affinities with the *Theosophy*, such as the oracles already disclosed in 1691 by Richard Bentley in his famous *Epistula ad Millium*,¹² the so-called *Symphony* edited by J.B. Pitra¹³ and W. Scott – A.S. Ferguson,¹⁴ the *Prophecies of the Seven Sages* published by A. Delatte,¹⁵ and other fragmentary materials.

Anhänge, das Anecdoton XPHEMOI TΩN EΛΛHNIKΩN ΘEΩN enthaltend, Leipzig, 1889 (repr. Aalen, 1973), pp. 87–131.

¹⁰ K. Mras, "Eine neuentdeckte Sibyllen-Theosophie", *WSt* 28 (1906), pp. 43–83.

¹¹ H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien* (Hamburger Arbeiten zur Altertumswissenschaft, 4), Hamburg, 1941.

¹² R. Bentley, *The Works*, edited by A. Dyce (1836–1838), vol. II, London, 1836, repr. in the series "Anglistica et Americana", 131, Hildesheim-New York, 1971, pp. 249–255.

¹³ J.B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, V,2, Paris-Romae, 1888, pp. 305–308. In the same work, pp. 302–305, Pitra published another collection of rare oracles under the title *Persica*.

¹⁴ W. Scott – A.S. Ferguson, *Hermetica*, IV: *Testimonia*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 225–227.

¹⁵ A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I: *Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l'histoire des religions*

Erbse's edition indubitably marked great progress, and is to be considered a fundamental stage in the study of the manuscript transmission of Greek theosophical fragments. But because of the war it did not receive the attention it deserved, and it did not produce a reawakening of interest in these texts. Moreover, in 1943 a fire destroyed the publishing house in Hamburg with all the copies of the dissertation. So, many scholars were unaware of it, and kept on resorting to the old, partial edition by Buresch. Suffice it to think that Robert M. Grant was only able to read Erbse's edition thanks to a loan by his teacher Arthur D. Nock,¹⁶ and Henry Chadwick confessed a few years ago that he had not even been able to consult it in a place like Cambridge.¹⁷ Erbse's edition is totally absent in the article "Theosophia" written by Heinrich Dörrie for the *Kleine Pauly*,¹⁸ and there is no trace of it even in the well-documented book-let by Jean-Louis Siémons entitled *Théosophia*.¹⁹

This is why scholars should gladly welcome the reprinting, at a distance of 54 years, of this rare edition by Erbse in the Teubner collection.²⁰ The text is reproduced in a substantially unchanged form; the only important innovation is the collation of the codex *Mutinensis misc. gr.* 126 for the original fragment of the Sibylline prophecies edited by Mras.

2. The reasons and criteria for this new edition

Yet one might ask, what need is there to publish a new edition of the *Theosophy* in a collection of patristic texts just a few years after

(Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc. 36), Liège-Paris, 1927, pp. 328-330.

¹⁶ R.M. Grant, "Greek Literature in the Treatise 'De Trinitate' and Cyril 'Contra Julianum'", *JThS* 15 (1964), pp. 265-279, 268, n. 1: "My knowledge of Erbse's book is due to a generous loan (and gift to the Harvard College Library) by my late teacher A.D. Nock".

¹⁷ H. Chadwick, "Oracles of the End in the Conflict of Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century", in E. Lucchesi - H.D. Saffrey (eds.), *Mémorial André-Jean Festugière. Antiquité païenne et chrétienne* (Cahiers d'Orientalisme, X), Genève, 1984, pp. 125-129, 125, n. 1: "in a book as rare as the gold of Ophir and not accessible to me".

¹⁸ H. Dörrie, "Theosophia", in *KP* V (1975), 732.

¹⁹ J.-L. Siémons, *Théosophia. Aux sources néoplatoniciennes et chrétiennes (2^e-6^e siècles)*, Paris, 1988.

²⁰ *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta, iterum recensuit Hartmut Erbse* (BSGRT), Stuttgartiae et Lipsiae, 1995.

the reprinting of Erbse's edition? In my opinion there are at least two reasons, both equally valid.

The first reason is that the time seems to be ripe to circulate, among scholars interested in the literature and history of early Christianity, this important text which has been so unjustly ignored up till now.

We have to acknowledge that, as Heinrich Dörrie remarked in 1975, this work has not yet been systematically put to scientific use.²¹ It may seem strange, but the undeniable fact is that the *Theosophy* has rarely been exploited, and then almost exclusively by classical philologists, historians of Greek philosophy, and students of ancient religions. Both editors, Buresch and Erbse, were interested in this text only for the "pagan" material, and did not bother to investigate the "Christian" context in which this singular work saw the light. An important article on the *Theosophy* was published by Kurt von Fritz in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*,²² and its documentary value was rightly appreciated by a historian of Greek religion of the calibre of Martin P. Nilsson.²³ Brief mention is made by Jürgen Hammerstaedt in the recent *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie*.²⁴

On the other hand, the *Theosophy* is normally absent from patristic and theological encyclopedias as, for example, the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*,²⁵ the *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*²⁶ and the *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*.²⁷ The *Theosophy* is not mentioned at all in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* by Maurits Geerard,²⁸ and there is equally total silence in the standard manual of Byzantine theological literature by Hans-Georg Beck.²⁹ a really paradoxical destiny for an ancient Christian work!

²¹ H. Dörrie, in *KP V* (1975), 732: "Eine wiss. Auswertung dieser Texte hat noch nicht stattgefunden".

²² K. von Fritz, "Theosophia", in *PRE* 2. Reihe, 10. Halbband (1934), 2248–2253.

²³ M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, Munich, 1950, II, pp. 464 f.

²⁴ J. Hammerstaedt, "Spätantike", in *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie*, ed. by H.-G. Nesselrath, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1997, pp. 294–315, 312.

²⁵ See the article by A. Faivre, "Théosophie", in *DSp* XV (1991), 548–562.

²⁶ *EEChurch*, ed. by A. Di Berardino – W.H.C. Frend, Cambridge, 1992.

²⁷ *EEChris*, ed. by E. Ferguson, New York, 2nd ed., 1997.

²⁸ See M. Geerard – F. Glorie, *CPG* (CChr.SG), vol. V: *Indices, Initia, Concordantiae*, Turnhout, 1987, and M. Geerard – J. Noret (adiuvantibus F. Glorie et J. Desnet), *CPG, Supplementum* (CChr.SG), Turnhout 1998.

²⁹ H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (HAW, Zwölfte Abteilung, Zweiter Teil, Erster Band), München, 2nd ed., 1977.

The second reason which prompted me to undertake the present research is of a strictly philological and historic-literary nature.

Precious though his edition may be, Erbse limits himself to juxtaposing a series of fragments, trying to untangle the intricate manuscript tradition in a manner that is certainly daring, but with results that are at times frankly debatable. Moreover, he makes no real effort to recover the original text of the *Theosophy* and to interpret it coherently in its own cultural and theological context. In other words, his edition is not without flaws and gaps, and therefore it is to a great extent unsatisfactory and inadequate to our present needs. I felt a profound revision was required for a more reliable critical text of the treatise, as will be clearly seen in the following pages.

Any attempt to reconstruct the *Theosophy*, illustrating its structure, doctrinal contents, sources, purpose and method of composition, cannot disregard the summary to be found in the Tübingen manuscript, which acts as a real guide for the editor. An anonymous Byzantine scribe wrote that introduction after the Council of Constantinople of 692 CE (the so-called Quinisext Council or Council in-Trullo), since he reckoned the *Apostolic Constitutions* among the apocrypha (βιβλίων παρεγγράπτων).³⁰ The summary provides us with the following information.

The work entitled *Theosophy* (see *Epit.* 1: 'Ὁ τὸ βιβλίον συγγεγραφώς, ὅπερ ἐπιέγραπται ΘΕΟΣΟΦΙΑ . . .; *ibid.* 5: ΘΕΟΣΟΦΙΑ δὲ τὸ βιβλίον ἐπέγραψεν . . .), which is the object of the present edition, is the continuation, in a certain sense a justificatory appendix, of a seven-book work, now completely lost, *On the Right Faith* (*Epit.* 1: ἐπτὰ βιβλία ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΘΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ).³¹ The *Theosophy* is divided into four books: the first book (the eighth of the whole work) is a collection of oracles of the Greek gods; the second (ninth) deals with the theologies

³⁰ This work was condemned in the second canon of that Council: see J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XI, Paris, 1901 (repr. Graz, 1960), 940, and K.J. Neumann *apud* K. Buresch, *Klaros*, pp. 89 f.

³¹ See A.D. Nock, "Oracles théologiques", *REA* 30 (1928), pp. 280–290, repr. in *Idem, Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1972, I, pp. 160–168, 163: "... la Théosophie que son premier paragraphe donne comme une suite à sept livres *Sur la vraie Foi*, donc comme une sorte d'appendice justificatif". R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians in the Mediterranean World from the Second Century A.D. to the Conversion of Constantine*, London, 1988², repeatedly writes that the title of this work was Περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως. The title of all the eleven books was instead Θεοσοφία, according to P. Athanassiadi, *Damascius. The Philosophical History. Text with translation and notes*, Athens, 1999, p. 353.

of the Greek and Egyptian sages; the third (tenth) exploits the oracles of the Sibyls; in the fourth (eleventh) extracts from the book of Hystaspes are cited.³² The book is concluded by a concise, universal chronicle from Adam right up to Emperor Zeno.

As far as possible, it is my intention to fill this index with appropriate materials. To succeed in this aim, I have carried out exhaustive research, over a period of several years, which has enabled me to discover other important portions of the work that have up till now been totally ignored in the discussion. In my opinion, a critical edition of the *Theosophy*, which aims at arranging the material in an order as close to the original text as possible, should be structured as follows.

The anonymous Byzantine *Epitome* (ἐπιτομή) should be followed first of all by the *Preface* (προοίμιον). Here the author explains the general plan of his work, and reveals the main sources of his religious thought, that is, Plato, Aristobulus, Diodorus Siculus and the *Wisdom of Solomon*.

All the oracles reproduced in the Tübingen manuscript should be attributed to the first book. To these we could usefully add the oracle uttered to the Egyptian king Thoulis (I, 49), also recorded in the second book of John Malalas' *Chronography*³³ and in Bentley's collection; the oracular response to the Pharaoh Petissonius (I, 50), quoted in the third book of Malalas' work,³⁴ and the two inscriptions of the Scamander (I,56 and I,62) transmitted exclusively by the *Symphonia*.

The second book should gather together all the theological sentences currently scattered, with repetitions and variations of different extent, in the Tübingen manuscript and other minor collections of sayings by Greek sages and Hermetic extracts, especially the *Symphonia*.

The third book should contain the Sibylline oracles. The fragment edited by Mras, which forms a large part of it, in this edition has the title *Fragm. A*. Of course, the relevant paragraphs of the Tübingen manuscript cannot be published in the text, as they give only an inaccurate summary of the original passage discovered by Mras. They have been partially recorded in the apparatus, with the exclusive purpose of documenting the method used by the Byzantine epitomizer.

³² H. Erbse, *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, p. XI, wrongly states that the book of Hystaspes was quoted in *decimo libro*.

³³ *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (CSHB), ed. L. Dindorf, Bonnæ, 1831, p. 25.

³⁴ Dindorf, pp. 65-66.

However, in my opinion, another long fragment of the third book of the *Theosophy* can be recovered, if we are willing to admit that the Greek oracle of the so-called Tiburtine Sibyl must have originally belonged to it. Commonly known as the Baalbek Oracle, this very important text was edited for the first time by Paul J. Alexander.³⁵ A series of correspondences of various kinds has convinced me that this is most probably a passage of the *Theosophy*,³⁶ which we have printed below as *Fragm. B* of Book III.

Unfortunately, we do not possess any original fragment of the *Wisdom of Hystaspes*, an apocalyptic work, fruit of Greco-Iranian syncretism, which may with good reason be dated to the beginning of the second century of our era. Extracts of this work were quoted in the fourth and last book of the *Theosophy* (thus *Epit. 2*: ἐν δὲ τῷ τετάρτῳ ἢ ἐνδεκάτῳ παράγει χρήσεις Ὑστάσπου τινὸς κτλ.). Regarding this, we must point out that the word χρήσεις should be translated as “extracts” or “quotations”, and that, therefore, Hans Windisch was quite wrong in translating it as “oracles” (*vaticinia*), as if it were the equivalent of χρησμοί.³⁷ This mistake has given rise to a long series of odd conjectures about the nature of the inexistent “Oracles” of Hystaspes.

Yet, it is still possible to form a certain idea, however vague and approximate, of the content of this work, thanks to some indications passed down by Justin Martyr,³⁸ Clement of Alexandria³⁹ and, above all, Lactantius.⁴⁰ The author of the *Theosophy* was certainly familiar with a recension of Hystaspes’ book that had already been rewritten in the Christian sense. It is from this Christianized version that he most probably took some passages that prophesied the Incarnation of the Lord (see again *Epit. 2*: θείων μυστηρίων ἀποκάλυψιν δεξαμένου περὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐνανθρωπήσεως). Among these passages there was also the famous prophecy by Zoroaster to Hystaspes concerning the Virgin Birth and the coming of the Great King, which we know of

³⁵ P.J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek. The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (DOS 10), Washington D.C., 1967.

³⁶ See P.F. Beatrice, “Das Orakel von Baalbek und die sogenannte Sibyllentheosophie”, *RQ* 92 (1997), pp. 177–189.

³⁷ H. Windisch, *Die Orakel des Hystaspes* (Verhandelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XXVIII, No. 3), Amsterdam, 1929.

³⁸ Justin, *Apol.* I,20,1 and I,44,12.

³⁹ Clement, *Strom.* VI,5,43,1.

⁴⁰ Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* VII,15,19 and VII,18,1–2.

only from late Syrian sources.⁴¹ This text has been reprinted here as the only surviving and recognizable fragment of Book IV of the *Theosophy*.

The loss of the world chronicle which concluded the *Theosophy* is particularly serious. It can, however, be made up for, at least in part, with the publication of the so-called *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, a Merovingian chronicle of the seventh/eighth century, translated into Latin from a lost Greek chronicle.⁴²

There are several reasons for believing that this lost Greek chronicle, if not absolutely identical, was in any case very similar to the final chronicle of the *Theosophy*. In fact, it was based on a previous Alexandrian chronicle dating back to the beginning of the fifth century (Annianus?), but it reached Anastasius' reign (*Chron.* VII,17,2), at precisely the time in which the *Theosophy* was composed. Moreover, the Greek source of the *Excerpta*, referring explicitly to the authority of Julius Africanus, started with Adam and placed the Incarnation of the Lord in the year 5500, exactly as the author of the *Theosophy* does.

The author of the Greek chronicle certainly knew the *Birth of Mary* (the so-called *Protevangeliium of James*), the same apocryphal work also mentioned by the Byzantine epitomizer among the texts used by the author of the *Theosophy* (see *Epit.* 4).⁴³ Even the "telegraphic" style chosen by the Greek chronicler fits the definition of "very concise" (συντομώτατον), employed by the Byzantine epitomizer to characterize the method of the final world chronicle of the *Theosophy* (see *Epit.* 2). As further confirmation of the closeness of that Greek chronicle to the *Theosophy* we must finally point out the revealing fact that in both we meet the same characters and the same authors, for example the patriarch Henoch, the prophets Isaiah and Daniel, the Pharaoh Petissonius, Hermes Trismegistus, Orpheus and Musaeus, the philosophers Heraclitus, Diagoras and Porphyry, the poets Euripides and Menander.

⁴¹ For a thorough analysis of this subject see P.F. Beatrice, "Le livre d'Hystaspe aux mains des Chrétiens", in *Les syncrétismes religieux dans le monde méditerranéen antique* (Institut Historique Belge de Rome. Études de Philologie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Anciennes, 36), ed. by C. Bonnet – A. Motte, Bruxelles-Rome, 1999, pp. 357–382.

⁴² The best introduction to the study of this very difficult and enigmatic work is still the comprehensive article by F. Jacoby, "Excerpta Barbari", in *PRE* VI,2 (1909), 1566–1576.

⁴³ For more details see P.F. Beatrice, "Traditions apocryphes dans la 'Théosophie de Tübingen'", *Apocrypha* 7 (1996), pp. 109–122.

3. *The apologetic project of the 'Theosophy'*

The author of the *Theosophy* sets himself the aim of showing that the oracles of the Greek gods, the theologies of the Greek and Egyptian sages, and the oracles of the Sibyls agree with the Sacred Scriptures about God, the cause and beginning of all things, and about the Trinity in the one Godhead (*Epit.* 1). To this is added the revelation of the divine mysteries concerning the Incarnation of the Saviour, received by the Persian king Hystaspes on account of his deep religious fervour (*Epit.* 2).

In the author's intention, the numerous quotations of Biblical texts, taken from the Old Testament and even more from the New Testament, are meant to confirm the truth of the religious message expressed by certain "pagan" texts and to highlight the continuity of the revelation of divine Wisdom in the transition from paganism to Christianity. The organization of the chronographic material in the final chronicle also seems to conform to this plan, if we consider that the presentation of the events of the Biblical history is regularly alternated with information on the pagan nations.

The apologetic project pursued by the author of the *Theosophy* is clear: to provide the proof that there exists a basic harmony, a *symphonia*, between the religious and philosophical wisdom of the pagans—i.e. Greeks, Egyptians and Persians—and the Christian revelation handed down in the divine Scripture. According to him, the gods of paganism, Phoebus, Demeter, Pallas, Bacchus, Aphrodite, are false gods (I,37: ἕκαστος τῶν νόθων θεῶν), but the testimonies of the pagan sages about God come straight from God himself, who gave the wise men the task of educating the pagans. This is why their words are judged as absolutely necessary (*Pref.* 2: οὐ δεῖ ἀποβάλλειν τὰς τῶν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ μαρτυρίας). If that is the way things are, the stubbornness with which some pagans still resist in their erroneous convictions is no longer justifiable.

Evidently, still in the age of Zeno and Anastasius some people were affected by the disease of paganism (III A, 1,9), but according to the prophecy of the Sibyls, God's judgement was incumbent over the blindness of those who obstinately clung to their absurd beliefs and idolatrous practices (III A, 2,13–14).⁴⁴

⁴⁴ In the following pages I develop some observations already carried out in P.F.

The *Theosophy* develops these ideas systematically, in a way which was unknown to the previous apologetic literature. However, this project took shape in its general lines from as far back as the second century, both in the syncretistic Gnostic movement, which was most open to the influences of Hellenistic culture, and among orthodox apologists.

Irenaeus of Lyons, for example, accuses the Valentinians of taking their doctrines from their "prophet" Homer,⁴⁵ and Hippolytus of Rome attributes the origin of Gnostic speculations at times to the "prophet" Homer,⁴⁶ and at times to the first Greek theologians, Musaeus, Linus and Orpheus.⁴⁷ But Justin Martyr, who certainly was not a Gnostic, recommends reading the Sibyl and Hystaspes, despite the death sentence pronounced by the Roman legislators against all those who made use of these subversive texts.⁴⁸

After Justin, Clement of Alexandria mentions an apocryphal work, perhaps the *Acts of Paul*, in which the apostle Paul invites his listeners to give serious attention to the pagan prophecies of the Sibyl and of Hystaspes about the uniqueness of God and the future coming of the Son of God: these are the most illustrious of the Greeks that God has established as "prophets" in their own language, distinguishing them from ordinary men, so that they might save the pagans in the same way in which the Old Testament prophets were called for the salvation of the Hebrews.⁴⁹ In the *Paedagogus*, Clement states that "Homer is a prophet without being aware of it",⁵⁰ and in another passage he does not hesitate to label as "prophets" those same people whom the Greeks called "sages".⁵¹

Between the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, the *Cohortatio ad Graecos* by Pseudo-Justin acknowledges the prophetic authority of Orpheus, the Sibyl and Hermes Trismegistus.⁵² In Latin Christianity, around the same time, the pamphlet *Quod idola dii non sint*, gives credit to the monotheistic doctrine of the magician

Beatrice, "Pagan Wisdom and Christian Theology according to the 'Tübingen Theosophy'", *J ECS* 3(1995), pp. 403-418.

⁴⁵ Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* II,14,2; II,22,6; IV,33,3.

⁴⁶ Hippolytus, *Ref. omn. haer.* V,8,1.

⁴⁷ Hippolytus, *Ref. omn. haer.* V,20,4.

⁴⁸ Justin, *Apol.* I,20,1 and I,44,12.

⁴⁹ Clement Al., *Strom.* VI,5,42,3-43,1.

⁵⁰ Clement Al., *Paed.* I,6,36,1.

⁵¹ Clement Al., *Strom.* V,4,22,1-24,1.

⁵² The Greek text is now available in the edition by M. Marcovich, *Pseudo-Iustinus*.

Ostanes, of Plato and Hermes Trismegistus.⁵³ Lactantius frequently resorts to the evidence taken from Orpheus, Hermes Trismegistus, the Sibyls and Hystaspes in order to explain the truth of the Christian doctrine to his pagan audience.⁵⁴ But on this point Lactantius introduces a considerable innovation. Indeed, he seems to have been the first Christian apologist to quote not only the usual pagan philosophical and religious texts, but also the oracles of the Greek god Apollo.⁵⁵

In the Greek world, at the end of the fourth century, the treatise *On the Trinity*, attributed to Didymus the Blind, aims at corroborating the Christian doctrine with arguments taken from the wisdom of "those outside" (οἱ ἔξω; οἱ ἔξω σοφοί; ἡ ἔξωθεν σοφία), i.e. the pagans.⁵⁶ The author appeals to various theological texts which are very similar to those used by the *Theosophy*. One oracle has even been reproduced in both works.⁵⁷ This is no surprise, since at that time there must have been various Christian collections of oracles which, unfortunately, have disappeared, such as the Χρησμοδία 'Ελληνικά.⁵⁸

One of the oracles mentioned in the *Theosophy*, the prophecy of Apollo to the Athenians about the transformation of a temple into a church of the Virgin Mary (I,54–55), is known from another source of the first half of the fifth century, the homily of Theodotus of Ancyra on the Theotokos.⁵⁹ In the context of a harsh anti-Jewish

Cohortatio ad Graecos, De Monarchia, Oratio ad Graecos (PTS 32), Berlin-New York, 1990. See also the in-depth commentary by C. Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin (Markell von Ankyra?). Ad Graecos de vera religione* (bisher "Cohortatio ad Graecos"). *Einleitung und Kommentar* (SBA 25/1–2), Basel, 1994.

⁵³ The date of composition of this work and its attribution to Cyprian of Carthage is a moot question. See E. Heck, "Pseudo-Cyprian, 'Quod idola dii non sint' und Lactanz, 'Epitome Divinarum Institutionum'", in *Panchaia. Festschrift für Klaus Thraede* (JAC ErgBd. 22), Münster i.W., 1995, pp. 148–155.

⁵⁴ See e.g. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* I,5–7; IV,27,20; VII,15–21; *Epit.* 68,1.

⁵⁵ For this feature of Lactantius' apologetic method see in particular *Div. Inst.* I,7.

⁵⁶ See the texts collected in *De Trin.* II,27 ff. (PG 39, 753 A–965 B). Unfortunately, a modern critical edition, with apparatus and commentary, of this section of the work is still lacking.

⁵⁷ The oracle quoted in *De Trin.* III,21 (PG 39, 913 B) is the same as in *Theosophy* I,32.

⁵⁸ See E. Bratke, *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden* (TU 4,3), Leipzig, 1899, pp. 129–217.

⁵⁹ Theodotus of Ancyra, *Oratio in Sanctam Mariam Dei Genitricem*, § 14, in *Homélies mariales byzantines. Textes grecs édités et traduits en latin* par M. Jugie (PO 19, fasc. 3, n° 93), Paris, 1925 (repr. Turnhout, 1974), pp. 333 f. The Greek text comes from

polemic, this famous bishop, who was a strong supporter of the anti-Nestorian party, remarked that the truth of the Christian faith had been preannounced both to Greeks and barbarians, for the damnation of the unbelievers (καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ βάρβαρον προκεκηρυγμένην τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλήθειαν εἰς κρίμα τῶν ταύτην ἀθετούντων).⁶⁰ This is exactly the same apologetic perspective of the *Theosophy*.

Among the pagan works in prose used by Christian apologists, the Hermetic writings are a favourite point of reference not only in Didymus' *On the Trinity*,⁶¹ but also in the treatise by Cyril of Alexandria *Against Julian*,⁶² certainly one of the main sources from which the author of the *Theosophy* borrowed his ideas.

As is clear, the *Theosophy* fits into a long apologetic tradition that has gradually become more extensive over the centuries. In a certain sense, the *Theosophy* can be seen as the climax, the point of arrival, the ripe fruit of this tradition, which aims at the Christian appropriation of the most authoritative voices of paganism: the Wisdom of the Greek poets and philosophers, the Egyptian wisdom of Hermes Trismegistus, the oracles of the Sibyls, the Iranian prophecies of Zoroaster collected in the *Wisdom of Hystaspes*, and even the oracles of the Greek gods.

The *Theosophy*, heir to this tradition, has in turn contributed to keeping alive this apologetic interest in the pagan prophecies of Christianity and in handing down this missionary programme to later generations.

In the sixth century, an otherwise unknown Timothy was mentioned by the Byzantine chronicler John Malalas as the source of pagan oracular traditions which bear a striking similarity to the material to be found in the *Theosophy*.⁶³ Perhaps it is not by mere chance

the codex *Paris. gr. 1171*, fol. 96v–107v (tenth century). H. Erbse, *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, pp. 35 f. does not know this edition and quotes from the Latin translation printed in PG 77, 1430 C–D. This oracle has been variously transmitted in the Byzantine tradition. For example, according to Malalas' Book IV (pp. 77–78 Dindorf), the question was not asked by the Athenians but by the Argonauts at Cyzicus. C. Mango, "The Conversion of the Parthenon into a Church: the Tübingen Theosophy", *DCAH* 18 (1995), pp. 201–203, overlooks Theodotus' homily.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* On Theodotus see R. Caro, *La Homiletica Mariana Griega en el Siglo V* (Marian Library Studies, New Series, vol. 3), Dayton, Ohio, 1971, pp. 156–197.

⁶¹ See PG 39, 756 B ff.

⁶² See R.M. Grant, "Greek Literature".

⁶³ I owe this interesting remark to E. Jeffreys, "Malalas' Sources", in *Studies in Malalas*, ed. by E. Jeffreys with B. Croke and R. Scott (Byzantina Australiensia, 6), Sydney, 1990, pp. 167–216, 194 ff.

that Malalas also proves to be quite close to the *Excerpta Barbari*,⁶⁴ the Latin version of that Greek chronicle written during the reign of Anastasius, which largely coincides with the final chronicle of the *Theosophy*. In the seventh century, an anonymous Byzantine compiler put together a huge work of fifteen books to demonstrate that the Christian faith had already been proclaimed by the pagan sages of numerous ancient nations.⁶⁵ In the eighth century, the author of the *Passio s. Artemii*, most probably John of Damascus, recalls the evidence of the pagan prophecies and makes the martyr quote the first part of an oracle of Apollo which is also to be found in the *Theosophy*.⁶⁶ Other Byzantine hagiographic texts, such as the *Passions* of St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Lucy, contain quotations from Orpheus, Sophocles, and Plato, which are very similar to the ones collected in the *Theosophy*.⁶⁷ What is even more interesting is that various Syriac, Coptic and Arabic sources bear witness to the deep influence the *Theosophy* had even on those Eastern Christian traditions.⁶⁸

But the most striking and significant influence of the *Theosophy* on later literature is certainly to be seen in the anonymous *Prologue* to the Byzantine collection of the *Sibylline Oracles*. This prologue, the date of which is still uncertain, has been handed down only through the family of manuscripts currently indicated with the letter Φ. The author briefly explains that the reason that induced him to collect

⁶⁴ See again E. Jeffreys, "The Chronicle of John Malalas, Book I: A Commentary", in *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?*, ed. by P. Allen and E. Jeffreys (Byzantina Australiensia, 10), Brisbane, 1996, pp. 52–74.

⁶⁵ See Photius, *Bibl.*, *Cod.* 170 (ed. R. Henry, vol. II, Paris, 1960, pp. 162–165).

⁶⁶ *Passio S. Artemii* 27–28 and 46 (ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, V: *Opera homiletica et hagiographica*, in PTS 29, Berlin-New York, 1988, pp. 216–218 and 228).

⁶⁷ These textual affinities have been pointed out by J. Bidez, "Sur diverses citations, et notamment sur trois passages de Malalas retrouvés dans un texte hagiographique", *ByZ* 11 (1902), pp. 388–394; E. Klostermann – E. Seeberg, *Die Apologie der Heiligen Katharina* (SKG.G I,2), Berlin, 1924; S. Costanza, "Sull'utilizzazione di alcune citazioni teologiche nella Cronografia di Giovanni Malala e in due testi agiografici", *ByZ* 52 (1959), pp. 247–252.

⁶⁸ For the study of these Oriental sources I refer the reader to the following contributions: G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, I: *Die Übersetzungen* (StT 118), Città del Vaticano, 1944, pp. 483–486; A. van Lantschoot, "Trois pseudo-prophéties messianiques inédites", *Muséon* 73 (1960), pp. 27–32; R. van den Broek, "Four Coptic Fragments of a Greek Theosophy", *VigChr* 32 (1978), pp. 118–142; S. Brock, "A Syriac Collection of Prophecies of the Pagan Philosophers", *OLoP* 14 (1983), pp. 203–246; Idem, "Some Syriac Excerpts from Greek Collections of Pagan Prophecies", *VigChr* 38 (1984), pp. 77–90.

these oracles, up till then scattered and of difficult access, into a single continuous work, was to make it easier to interpret them and, therefore, to facilitate the diffusion of the spiritual advantages that may be drawn from these texts, advantages which are certainly greater than those, however important, obtained from the laborious study of Greek literature.

As has already been correctly observed for some time now, the section of the prologue including the etymology of the name "Sibyl", the catalogue of the ten Sibyls, the legend of the arrival of the Sibylline books in Rome and the quotation from Firmianus Lactantius, is entirely borrowed from the third book of the *Theosophy* (III A, 1,2-12). This shows that whoever wrote this introduction to the collection of the Sibylline oracles knew the *Theosophy* very well and highly appreciated both its documentary value and its apologetic teaching.⁶⁹

4. *The presence of Porphyry in the 'Theosophy'*

Among the numerous pagan authors mentioned in the *Theosophy*, the Neoplatonist Porphyry of Tyre (233-305 A.D. ca.) deserves closer consideration in this introduction, due to his particularly important role.

Porphyry is mentioned by name several times in the *Theosophy*. Two oracles are quoted from his *Philosophy from Oracles*. The first oracle comes from the second book (I,24-26: Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ τῆς ΕΚ ΛΟΓΙΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ),⁷⁰ while the second (I,27) is completely new. A fragment on the unknowability of God (II,13) derives very probably, as Henri Dominique Saffrey has noted in a perceptive study, from Porphyry's *Commentary on the Parmenides*.⁷¹ Moreover,

⁶⁹ See J.J. Collins, "Sibylline Oracles (Second Century B.C.-Seventh Century A.D.). A New Translation and Introduction", in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. I: *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, ed. by J.H. Charlesworth, London, 1983, pp. 327-329.

⁷⁰ It is worth noting, however, that Steuchus, *De perenni philosophia* III,14 (Lugduni, 1540, pp. 155-157), writes: *Adducitur hoc oraculum non a Christianis, sed a Porphyrio Christianorum hoste, decimo libro εὐλογίων* (sic!) *φιλοσοφίας*. A similar reading ἐκ τοῦ δεκάτου τῶν Πορφυρίου εὐλογίων (sic!) *φιλοσοφίας* is to be found in the codex *Ambrosianus* 569 (N 234 sup.) of the sixteenth century. See A. Mai, *Philonis Iudaei, Porphyrii philosophi, Eusebii Pamphili opera inedita*, Mediolani, 1816, pp. 59-64.

⁷¹ H.D. Saffrey, "Connaissance et inconnissance de Dieu: Porphyre et la 'Théosophie de Tübingen'", in J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (eds.), *Gonimos. Neoplatonic*

the author of the *Theosophy* is aware of certain biographical details of Porphyry's life. For example, he knows that Iamblichus was a disciple of Porphyry's (II,14) and that Porphyry was a Christian in his youth (II,25). However, he indignantly rejects the slanderous statement according to which Porphyry apostatized after being beaten by some Christians at Caesarea in Palestine.⁷² Porphyry's greed for money then led him to marry a rich, old Jewess, the mother of five children.⁷³

A passage from Porphyry's *History of Philosophy* is also mentioned (II, 38). The same work is quoted again in the final chronicle (VII,4,4). Porphyry's *History of Philosophy* was already very well known and appreciated by Christian apologists such as Eusebius of Caesarea, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Cyril of Alexandria.⁷⁴ It may be legitimately supposed that it supplied the author of the *Theosophy* with doxographical material on the history of Greek philosophy from the origins right up to Plato, especially for the second book which deals with the sentences of the sages.

The undeniable knowledge of Porphyry shown by these quotations makes it highly probable that Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles* was, if not the unique, certainly the main source of the first book of the *Theosophy*, devoted to the interpretation of the pagan oracles. Indeed, it may reasonably be believed that even the very idea of collecting the oracles of the gods came from Porphyry's work. We must, therefore, ask ourselves what relationship existed between Porphyry's collection of oracles and the analogous Christian collection of the *Theosophy*.⁷⁵

and *Byzantine Studies presented to Leendert G. Westerink at 75*, Buffalo N.Y., 1988, pp. 1-20, repr. in Idem, *Recherches sur le Néoplatonisme après Plotin* (Histoire des doctrines de l'Antiquité Classique, 14), Paris, 1990, pp. 11-30.

⁷² The story is reported by Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* III,23,38.

⁷³ Porphyry's *avaritia* had already been criticized by Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* V,2,3. See P.F. Beatrice, "Antistes philosophiae. Ein christenfeindlicher Propagandist am Hofe Diokletians nach dem Zeugnis des Laktanz", in *Ricerche patristiche in onore di Dom Basil Studer* (= *Augustinianum* 33), Rome, 1993, pp. 31-47. However, the author of the *Theosophy* wrongly claims, probably following Eunapius, *Vitae soph.* IV,2,5, that Porphyry's wife Marcella had five children. As Porphyry himself states in *Ad Marcellam* I, she had seven children, five daughters and two sons.

⁷⁴ See the excellent presentation by A. Ph. Segonds, "Les fragments de l'*Histoire de la Philosophie*", published in appendix to É. des Places, *Porphyre. Vie de Pythagore. Lettre à Marcella*, Paris, 1982, pp. 163-197.

⁷⁵ R.M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius*, Oxford, 1978, pp. 24 and 55, unnecessarily postulates that Arnobius, Lactantius and the author of the *Theosophy* used a Christianized version of Porphyry's collection of oracles.

Clearly, it cannot but be a relationship of challenge or rivalry. In his work Porphyry had collected various oracles of Greek gods such as Apollo, Hecate and Sarapis, in order to offer a philosophical reinterpretation of them in the light of the doctrines that had developed in the Neoplatonic school, thanks to the teachings of his master Plotinus. This programme is clearly stated in the prologue to the *Philosophy from Oracles* quoted by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Preparation for the Gospel*.⁷⁶ Moreover, for Porphyry, recourse to the oracles, that is, to the most genuine and authoritative expressions of the pagan religious tradition, had the basic function of supporting a radical attack on the provocative Christian claim to own the truth. This means that the *Philosophy from Oracles* is the only real anti-Christian treatise that was ever written by Porphyry, as I have tried to demonstrate in a series of previous articles.⁷⁷

Before the *Theosophy*, numerous Christian writers had already undertaken the difficult task of confuting Porphyry, starting with Methodius of Olympus, Arnobius of Sicca and Eusebius of Caesarea at the beginning of the fourth century, up to Theodoret of Cyrhus in the middle of the fifth century. They had developed a whole series of arguments both of a strictly philosophical nature and of Biblical exegesis to defend the Christian doctrine threatened by Porphyry's acute and upsetting criticism. But none of them had until then thought of writing a work which might replace Porphyry's anti-Christian treatise by making use of the same technique of composition, that is, by presenting the texts of the oracles followed by a doctrinal comment. Now, the *Theosophy* adopts this procedure, which is an innovation in the apologetic tradition. While in Porphyry's work the gods were invoked as witnesses of the truth of the old pagan traditions, in contrast to the falsehood of Christianity, in the *Theosophy* their oracles are quoted with the opposite intention of upholding the truth of the Christian doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation.

It should be stressed that the oracles quoted in the *Theosophy* cannot be labelled "Chaldaean" oracles in the technical sense of the term, since there is no evidence to support this claim.⁷⁸ In fact, these

⁷⁶ Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* IV,7,1-2.

⁷⁷ See P.F. Beatrice, "Porphyrius", and the bibliography cited there.

⁷⁸ A critical discussion of the traditional thesis developed by H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy. Mysticism, Magic, and Neoplatonism in the Later Roman Empire*, nouv. éd. par M. Tardieu, Paris, 1978, can be found in R. Majercik, *The Chaldaean Oracles. Text, Translation and Commentary* (Studies in Greek and Roman Religion, 5), Leiden, 1989.

oracles sound strikingly similar to those uttered and collected in the temples of Didyma and Claros.⁷⁹ A few lines of one of these oracles (I, 2) were carved on a stone wall of the city of Oenoanda.⁸⁰ The author of the *Theosophy*, however, does not limit himself to reinterpreting authentic pagan oracles in a manner which is favourable to Christian doctrine; he does not hesitate to resort to bogus oracles when in need.

Pierre Batiffol was the first to point out the existence of fictitious theological oracles in the *Theosophy*.⁸¹ However, it is not always easy to discover the Christian forgeries, since those which seem to be oracles fabricated by the Christians might, on closer investigation, prove to be pure and simple pagan texts. For example, I think that the oracle from Coptos on the Virgin Birth of the Son-Logos (I,42) is to be connected with an old pagan Egyptian ritual described only by Epiphanius of Salamis,⁸² in the same way, the oracle on the “consubstantiality” (ὁμοούσιος) of the Son-Logos with the Father-Nous, found in the burial vaults (σύριγγες) of the Valley of the Kings near Thebes (I,45), has nothing to do, in my opinion, with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity formulated in the Nicene creed, but is an original document of Egyptian theology to be rather paralleled with the *Poimandres*, the first treatise of the *Corpus Hermeticum*.⁸³

This is a highly questionable issue, and in this field there is still a lot of work to be done. At any rate, there can be no doubt concerning the impressive case provided by the Delphian oracle of the god Apollo (I,5) who complains of being defeated by Christ. Christ is the celestial man who expels Apollo with violence from his temple, but whom Apollo now recognizes as his one true God. This oracle, a purely Christian invention, was conceived to contradict a

⁷⁹ See the in-depth examination by Th.L. Robinson, *Theological Oracles and the Sanctuaries of Claros and Didyma*, Harvard diss., 1981, esp. I, pp. 183–266, and II, pp. 323–466.

⁸⁰ See A.S. Hall, “The Klarian Oracle of Oenoanda”, *ZPE* 32 (1978), pp. 263–268.

⁸¹ P. Batiffol, “Oracula Hellenica”, *RB* 13 (1916), pp. 177–199. The standard work on the problem of literary fraud in the ancient world is that by W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum. Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung* (HAW I/2), München, 1971.

⁸² Epiphanius, *Pan.* 51,22,9–11.

⁸³ See *CH* I, 10. The word ὁμοούσιος, on the contrary, is placed in a clearly Christian context in *Theosophy* I, 62. Much more on this subject in the forthcoming article by P.F. Beatrice, “The Word ‘Homoeousios’ from Hellenism to Christianity” (Master Theme of the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford in August 1999).

famous pagan oracle of Apollo, quoted and commented on by Porphyry in the *Philosophy from Oracles*. In that oracle the god maintained the exclusively human nature of Christ and claimed that he had been justly condemned to death by the Chaldaean judges, that is, by the Jews.⁸⁴

The polemical attitude of the *Theosophy* with respect to the *Philosophy from Oracles* seems to be confirmed by the adoption of the title itself. As Eusebius pointed out, Porphyry had set himself the dual aim of demonstrating the value of the pagan theological oracles in contrast with the Christian doctrines and, at the same time, of exhorting his followers to attain that intellectual wisdom which he, with a word particularly dear to him, liked to call "theosophy" (εἷς τε προτροπήν ἥς αὐτῷ φίλον ὀνομάζειν θεοσοφίας).⁸⁵ John Philoponus confirms Eusebius' information when he says that Porphyry called theurgy "practical theosophy" (τὴν τε πρακτικὴν θεοσοφίαν, οὕτω τὴν μαγείαν καλῶν), by which he meant that also recourse to theurgical techniques guarantees some form of religious wisdom, albeit inferior to philosophical theosophy.⁸⁶ The word *theosophy* was introduced by Porphyry in the philosophical vocabulary of Neoplatonism,⁸⁷ while Eusebius seems to be the first Christian apologist to have taken this word as a new definition of the Christian religion.⁸⁸

The author of the *Theosophy* chose this polemical title for his anthology of oracles and philosophical sayings in order to demonstrate that also the pagans had received their wisdom from God (*Epit.* 5: διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας σοφισθῆναι). Theosophy, that is, religious wisdom of things divine, can only be achieved through the Christian revelation transmitted in the Scripture, but the truth of Christianity is also confirmed by the very authorities of paganism, educated by God. The content of theosophy, in particular, is the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation.

⁸⁴ We know the content of this pagan oracle thanks to three Christian writers: Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* IV,13,11; Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* III,7; Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* XIX,23. For a full analysis see P.F. Beatrice, "Monophysite Christology in an Oracle of Apollo", *IJCT* 4 (1997/98), pp. 3-22.

⁸⁵ Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* IV,6,3.

⁸⁶ Philoponus, *De opif. mundi* 200, 20-26 (= fr. 340 a Smith, p. 388).

⁸⁷ See e.g. Porphyry, *De abst.* II,35; II, 45,2-4; IV,9. 17; *De Styge* fr. 378 Smith, p. 459, and H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, p. 444. On the contrary, according to R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, p. 680, the word θεοσοφία seems to be a Christian coinage.

⁸⁸ Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* I,5,12.

For the material used, the method followed and the polemical aims pursued, the *Theosophy* appears to be the work capable of refuting and replacing Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles* in the religious and philosophical culture of that time.

5. Paganism and Judaism in the 'Theosophy'

The fact that the *Theosophy* is an "apologetic" work in the most obvious sense is a statement which, at this point, needs no further proof. This means that the *Theosophy* is a work aimed first of all at fighting against the disease of Greco-Oriental idolatry (III A, 1,9: τοῖς νοσοῦσι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων), using the well-tested method of recourse to the religious traditions of the pagans. However, another aspect of the religious controversy carried out in the *Theosophy* also deserves our attention.

An oracle placed in the mouth of Apollo contains serious insults against the Jews. They are defined as being rather impudent, foolish and ungodly, since their life does not proceed righteously; they have even repudiated the Law handed down by their fathers (I,53). This oracle does not come from any pagan collection, certainly not from Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles* in which, as Eusebius and Augustine report, the Jews were greatly praised at least for their monotheistic faith and for having crucified Christ.⁸⁹ It is therefore a forgery produced by the Christian author of the *Theosophy*.

Controversy against the Jews is an important feature of the Christian apologetic tradition right from the earliest centuries. It finds its justification above all in the accusation of "deicide" brought against the Jews by the Christians from the very beginnings. This polemical theme is also present in the Sibylline prophecies. In this section of the third book of the *Theosophy*, the author says that the Jews refused to recognize the Emmanuel prophesied by Isaiah (III A, 1,19), and did not hesitate to strike God by nailing him to the cross (III A, 1,26-29).

A saying attributed to the Greek legislator Solon explicitly holds the treacherous people of the Jews responsible for having condemned the incarnate Word to death on the cross (II,50). The strength of this anti-Jewish attitude is highlighted by another late Byzantine col-

⁸⁹ See Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* III,7; Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* XIX,23.

lection of prophecies of the Greek sages ($\Delta = \Delta\iota\eta\gamma\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma \phi\iota\lambda\omicron\sigma\phi\omicron\upsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota \tau\omicron\omega\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\acute{\alpha} \text{ Ἑλλήνων } \tau\omicron\omega\nu \phi\iota\lambda\omicron\sigma\phi\omicron\upsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon \delta\iota\acute{\alpha} \tau\eta\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\omega \pi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$), also derived in some way from the *Theosophy*. Here the poet Homer denounces the crucifixion of the Lord as the work of the perfidious race of the Jews.⁹⁰

In another oracle of the *Theosophy* (I,40), Apollo exalts the Hebrew Moses along with the Egyptian Hermes and Apollonius of Tyana, since those three men were the only ones to have had the privilege of contemplating the divine nature. This is an authentically pagan oracle which is not in contrast with the openly anti-Jewish orientation of the *Theosophy*. Indeed, the author of the *Theosophy* draws a clear distinction between Moses, whose exceptional religious personality is recognized even by a pagan oracle, and the Jews who betrayed the Law and crucified the Saviour.

It is interesting to note that for the Christian author of the *Theosophy* this Egyptian Hermes, i.e. Hermes Trismegistus, is not the same as the god Hermes, elsewhere called "Logios" (I,28–29).⁹¹ Hermes Trismegistus was only a man, the author of pagan religious texts which the author of the *Theosophy* reused in support of Christian theology. Most probably following Diodorus Siculus⁹² and Julius Africanus,⁹³ he actually introduces Hermes Trismegistus as Faunus, son of Picus (Zeus), an expert in eloquence and in the arts of magic and divination (*Chron.* IV,3,3: *Hermem terbeatissimum*).

At any rate, the figure of Moses is not involved in the anti-Jewish controversy. In the Pseudo-Orphic poem currently known as *Testament of Orpheus* (II,3), Moses is celebrated as the descendant of the ancient race of the Chaldaeans ($\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu \text{ Χαλδαίων}$), and an expert in astrology ($\acute{\iota}\delta\rho\iota\varsigma \dots \acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\omega\nu \tau\epsilon \pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \sigma\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\varsigma$). He is the man born from the waters ($\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$) who received the Ten Commandments ($\delta\acute{\iota}\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\alpha \theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\acute{o}\nu$) from God.

There has been much debate as to the origin, structure and textual

⁹⁰ See the text in Erbse, *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, p. 134.

⁹¹ On the distinction between the god Hermes Logios and Hermes Trismegistus see G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes. A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind*, Cambridge, 1986, repr. Princeton NJ, 1993, pp. 201 f.

⁹² See Diodorus, *Bibl.* VI,5,1–3. Diodorus' work is an important source of religio-historical information for the author of the *Theosophy*. See P.F. Beatrice, "Diodore de Sicile chez les Apologistes", in *Les apologistes chrétiens et la culture grecque* (ThH 105), ed. by B. Pouderon – J. Doré, Paris, 1998, pp. 219–235.

⁹³ See Julius Africanus, *Chron.* fr. 12 in M.J. Routh, *Reliquiae sacrae*, II, Oxford, 1846², repr. Hildesheim-New York, 1974, p. 264.

history of this poem, and many hypotheses have been proposed. Today, it is generally admitted that it is a Judeo-Hellenistic forgery composed as an imitation of an Orphic *hieros logos*. The original text was then variously expanded and manipulated by Christian apologists, Clement of Alexandria, Pseudo-Justin, Eusebius of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret of Cyrrhus. The *Theosophy* contains the last and the fullest known version, which at times preserves good ancient variant readings. I do not intend to go further into the discussion, for which I refer the reader to the specific bibliography.⁹⁴ Here I only wish to stress the following point.

According to the Tübingen manuscript, the wisdom of the ancient Chaldaeans praised by Orpheus in the ll. 27–28 was that of Abraham (II,2: τὴν τῶν πάλαι Χαλδαίων σοφίαν, δηλαδή τὴν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ). Clement of Alexandria, referring to the same poem, had already written that here the allusion was to Abraham or to his son (τὸ γένος Χαλδαίω, εἴτε τὸν Ἀβραάμ λέγων τοῦτον εἴτε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ).⁹⁵ Based only on these two pieces of evidence, the idea of the existence of an “Abrahamic” version of the poem, as distinct from a later “Mosaic” version, has found wide acceptance in the bibliography.

In reality, a marginal gloss of the Tübingen manuscript identifies the anonymous Chaldaean as Moses (ὁ γὰρ τὴν δεκάπτυχον γράψας Μωσῆς τῶν Χαλδαίων ἔμπειρος ἦν καὶ τῆς ἀστρονομίας). Philo of Alexandria confirms that Moses was a Chaldaean who possessed knowledge of the celestial bodies (see Philo, *Vita Mos.* I,5: Μωσῆς γένος μὲν ἔστι Χαλδαῖος; see also *ibid.* I,23: τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων Χαλδαϊκὴν ἐπιστήμην). He bore an Egyptian name meaning “saved from the waters” (*ibid.* I,17: εἶτα δίδωσιν ὄνομα θεμένῃ Μωσῆν ἐτύμως διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ μῶυ ὀνομάζουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι).

This means that the “Abrahamic” version of the Pseudo-Orphic poem never existed, or that at least there seems to be no need for

⁹⁴ Among the most important contributions, see N. Walter, *Der Thorausleger Aristobulos. Untersuchungen zu seinen Fragmenten und zu pseudepigraphischen Resten der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur* (TU 86), Berlin, 1964; N. Zeegers – Vander Vorst, *Les citations des poètes grecs chez les apologistes chrétiens du II^e siècle* (Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 4e série, fasc. 47), Louvain, 1972, pp. 192–197; C. Riedweg, *Jüdisch-hellenistische Imitation eines orphischen Hieros Logos. Beobachtungen zu OF 245 und 247 (sog. Testament des Orpheus)* (Classica Monacensia, 7), Tübingen, 1993. The best available introduction to the long scholarly debate is that by C.R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, vol. IV: *Orphica* (SBL Texts and Translations 40; Pseudepigrapha Series, 14), Atlanta, 1996.

⁹⁵ Clement Al., *Strom.* V,14,123,2.

this superfluous hypothesis. The words δηλαδὴ τὴν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ could simply be an interpolation of the Byzantine compiler recalling the rather doubtful explanation (Abraham or Isaac?) of Clement of Alexandria. If so, they are to be deleted. Interpolations of this kind should be no surprise, if one considers the extent of the interventions of the anonymous epitomizer. These interventions were revealed by the discovery of the original text of the *Theosophy* by Mras in the codex *Ottobonianus*, and then confirmed by the codex of Modena used by Erbse.

6. The 'Theosophy' and Manicheism

In the *Theosophy* traditional, anti-Jewish motifs accompanied the controversy with the pagans. Paganism and Judaism clearly appear as two enemies to be fought, not to be integrated by means of more or less elaborate syncretistic speculations. There is no margin of compromise with either of the two. This irrefutable fact leads me to reject as totally unfounded the opinion according to which the *Theosophy* was a Manichean work written by an otherwise unknown Aristocritus. This hypothesis was brought forward by A. Brinkmann,⁹⁶ and was later shared, among many others, by P. Alfarc,⁹⁷ H. Windisch,⁹⁸ and J. Bidez – F. Cumont.⁹⁹

The *Theosophy* of the Manichean Aristocritus is mentioned exclusively in a formula of anti-Manichean abjuration used by the Byzantine Church from the sixth century on.¹⁰⁰ According to this rare and precious source, the purpose of this work was to demonstrate, from the typically Manichean syncretistic point of view, that Judaism, Greek paganism, Christianity and Manicheism professed a single, identical doctrine (τὴν ἀθεοτάτην βίβλον Ἀριστοκρίτου, ἣν ἐκείνος ΘΕΟΣΟΦΙΑΝ ἐπέγραψεν, δι' ἧς πειρᾶται δεικνύναι τὸν Ἰουδαϊσμόν καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνισμόν

⁹⁶ A. Brinkmann, "Die Theosophie des Aristokritos", *RMP* 51 (1896), pp. 273–280.

⁹⁷ P. Alfarc, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, t.II: *Étude analytique*, Paris, 1918, pp. 107–112; 169–172; 181–182; 199–205.

⁹⁸ H. Windisch, *Die Orakel des Hystaspes*, pp. 42 and 97.

⁹⁹ J. Bidez – F. Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque*, Paris, 1938, vol. II, pp. 363 f.

¹⁰⁰ Greek text and English translation by S.N.C. Lieu, "An Early Byzantine Formula for the Renunciation of Manichaeism: the 'Capita VII contra Manichaeos' of Zacharias of Mytilene", *JAC* 26 (1983), pp. 152–218, esp. 188 f., and commentary at p. 213, with further bibliography.

καὶ τὸν Χριστιανισμόν καὶ τὸν Μανιχαισμόν ἔν εἶναι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δόγμα).

It is to be noted, first of all, that there is never any mention of Manicheism in the extant fragments of the *Theosophy*, though this textual fact might simply be due to an accident of the manuscript tradition. What is more important is that the harsh judgments both on pagans and Jews do not fit in well with the syncretistic content of the Manichean work. This is a decisive argument which opposes all attempts to identify the two works as one.

The conclusion seems inevitable, and is today widely accepted:¹⁰¹ the Manichean *Theosophy* of Aristocritus, if it ever existed, and the *Theosophy* I have tried to reconstruct in this edition are two works with the same title, but totally different as regards both their origin and their religious message.

In the text of the *Theosophy*, at least in its present condition, along with the controversy against pagans and Jews, there are no traces of a parallel controversy against heretics. It may be easily imagined that theological controversy was not lacking in the previous seven-book treatise *On the Right Faith*. The absence of a clearly recognizable polemical context makes it particularly difficult to define the author's theological position. To do this, only the few internal problematic indications offered by the text are available.

7. *A monophysite work*

A theological work which ended its world chronicle with the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius, both involved in the Christological debates that followed the Council of Chalcedon, could not avoid taking a stand in this controversy. So, it is reasonable to expect its author to have left some signs which, on an attentive and unbiased reading of the text, would reveal his authentic religious allegiance.

Indeed, a number of elements, albeit slight, would lead us to believe that the *Theosophy* had a monophysite origin. First of all, the "fortune" of the work, that is, the influence that it undoubtedly exerted in certain Syriac, Coptic and Arabic ecclesiastical documents, as well as in the Byzantine world, would be difficult to explain unless

¹⁰¹ See M. Goodman in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*. A New English Version Revised and Edited by G. Vermes - F. Millar - M. Goodman, Edinburgh, 1986, vol. III, part I, pp. 628 f.

we admit that the theology of the treatise was fundamentally oriented towards Monophysitism.¹⁰²

The mention of the *Testament of the Lord and the Commandments of the Apostles* (*Epit.* 4: ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ), an apocryphal work which was currently in use exclusively in the monophysite church of Syria, can only confirm the vital connections of the *Theosophy* with that theological trend. Also the *Birth and Assumption of the Virgin Mary* (*ibid.*: ΓΕΝΝΗΣΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΧΡΑΝΤΟΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΗΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ) points towards Monophysitism.¹⁰³ This apocryphal Marian work is the main source for the section of the final chronicle that deals with the narration of the events referring to the birth of John the Baptist and of Jesus Christ (*Chron.* VIII, 3,6–17).

It is true that, considering the widespread diffusion of the theme of Isaiah's martyrdom throughout ancient Christian literature, its brief mention in *Chron.* V,4,3 does not reveal anything specific about the doctrinal affinities of the *Theosophy*. However, the Pseudo-Dionysian echoes in the sentences attributed to Plato (II,53) and to Menander (II,56) again indicate the existence of special contacts between the *Theosophy* and monophysite circles. Plato's spurious sentence, which I have managed to reconstruct for the first time from fragments scattered in various manuscripts, recalls the contents of the Areopagite's treatise *On the Divine Names*.¹⁰⁴ In this chapter Plato is credited with the famous Hermetic sentence on the difficulty of knowing God and the impossibility of speaking about God (Θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν χαλεπὸν, φράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον).¹⁰⁵ As is known, the basic identity of views between Hermes and Plato's *Timaeus* 28c (τὸν γὰρ πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντός εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὐρόντα εἰς πάντας ἐξεῖπειν ἀδύνατον) had already been remarked by Lactantius.¹⁰⁶ The sentences attrib-

¹⁰² See the studies quoted above in n. 68.

¹⁰³ I have dealt with the apocryphal material of the *Theosophy* in the article "Traditions apocryphes".

¹⁰⁴ See L. Bréhier, "La légende des Sages païens à Byzance", in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen-Age Louis Halphen*, Paris, 1951, pp. 61–69, 66 ff., commenting upon the text of the codex *Matrit. gr.* 115, fol. 127 r, of the fifteenth century, edited by S. Lambros in *Neos Hellenomnemon* 21 (1927), pp. 376–377.

¹⁰⁵ See *Exc.* I,1 (ed. Festugière, t. III, p. 2). This Hermetic quotation is also to be found in Ps. Justin, *Coh.* 38,2; Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 28,4; Cyril, *C. Iul.* I,43; *Passio s. Artemii*, 28 (ed. Kotter, V, p. 217). On the diffusion of this sentence see Scott-Ferguson, *Hermetica* IV, p. 238, n. 4, and the comprehensive articles by A.D. Nock, "The exegesis of *Timaeus* 28 C", *VigChr* 16 (1962), pp. 79–86, and J. Pépin, "Grégoire de Nazianze, lecteur de la littérature hermétique", *VigChr* 36 (1982), pp. 251–260.

¹⁰⁶ Lactantius, *De ira* 11,11: *Unus est igitur princeps et origo rerum deus, sicut Plato in*

uted to Plato and Menander should be assessed, along with the quotation from Porphyry's *Commentary on the Parmenides* (II,13), as an eloquent testimony to the author's strong inclination toward that kind of apophatic theology developed a few years earlier in its most complete form by Pseudo-Dionysius.

In this context we must certainly not underestimate the fact that the very term "theosophy" had been significantly accepted in the theological terminology of the Areopagite. This technical term is used as many as three times in the Pseudo-Dionysian *corpus*: once with the precise meaning of "divine wisdom transmitted by the Scriptures" (τῆς ἐκ λογίων . . . θεοσοφίας),¹⁰⁷ and twice with the meaning of "divine doctrine belonging to the Christians" (τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσοφίας,¹⁰⁸ τῆς Χριστιανῶν . . . θεοσοφίας).¹⁰⁹ In this sense, it may be said that, if it is true that the title *Theosophy* expresses the polemical intent of the author with regard to Porphyry, at the same time it also reveals his loyalty to a precise orientation of mystical theology rooted in the Pseudo-Dionysian tradition.

At this point, the allusion to the Book of Revelation 4,6.8 (I,62), which has up till now remained completely unnoticed, may prove important. This meaningful discovery also leads us toward that monophysite milieu where there was a particularly keen interest in the last, controversial book of the Bible. The Pseudo-Dionysian writings teem with references to the Apocalypse,¹¹⁰ and Ecumenius, the author of the earliest commentary on the Apocalypse written in Greek, corresponded with Severus, the monophysite Patriarch of Antioch.¹¹¹

Finally, if the Alexandrian connection of the *Theosophy*, endorsed by various authors, were to be irrefutably demonstrated, it too might be an argument of notable weight in this direction, since in the second half of the fifth century Alexandria was the acknowledged capital of monophysite resistance to the Council of Chalcedon.¹¹²

Timaeo et sensit et docuit; cuius maiestatem tantam esse declarat, ut nec mente comprehendi nec lingua exprimi possit. Idem testatur Hermes; see also the explicit citation in Epit. 4,4-5.

¹⁰⁷ Ps. Dionys., *De div. nom.* 2,2 (ed. B.R. Suchla, in PTS 33, Berlin-New York, 1990, p. 125).

¹⁰⁸ *De div. nom.* 7,4 (p. 199).

¹⁰⁹ *De Myst. Theol.* I,1 (ed. A.M. Ritter, in PTS 36, Berlin-New York, 1991, p. 141).

¹¹⁰ See John of Scythopolis, *Scholía in librum de divinis nominibus* II,1 (PG 4, 212 C), and the Biblical index in PTS 36, p. 244.

¹¹¹ On this enigmatic writer and his obscure work see J.C. Lamoreaux, "The Provenance of Ecumenius' Commentary on the Apocalypse", *VigChr* 52 (1998), pp. 88-108.

¹¹² See B.E. Daley, "Apollo as a Chalcedonian: A New Fragment of a Controversial

These arguments are indirect, external and, on the whole, fairly peripheral. Luckily, there are in the *Theosophy* some explicit doctrinal declarations which strongly support the thesis of its monophysite origin.

The short treatise of Christology, placed in Apollo's mouth in the famous bogus oracle mentioned above (I,5),¹¹³ presents all the features of moderate monophysite Christology as known through the documents of the second half of the fifth century, that is, the works of the monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria, Timothy Aelurus, and the *Henotikon* of Emperor Zeno. Moreover, in the fragment of the theosophy of the Sibyls discovered by Mras, it is clearly stated that in the mystery of the hypostatic union the human nature was "absorbed" or "annihilated" by the divine Logos (III A, 2,11: 'Εν τούτῳ γάρ ἐστι τὸ μυστήριον ἐν τῷ νενικησθαι τὴν ἀνθρωπεῖαν φύσιν κτλ.). The use of this verb reveals the typically monophysite point of view with regard to the Incarnation. Even the theopaschite formula "One of the Trinity" (τοῦ ἐνὸς τῆς αὐτῆς . . . τριάδος), at the beginning of Book II, can be explained for that time only as an expression of the monophysite orientation of the author.¹¹⁴

An interesting and, in my opinion, decisive confirmation of these statements of a purely doctrinal character may be found in the *Kaiserkritik* of the Tiburtine Sibyl. This oracle represents the author's judgment on the religious policies of the Byzantine emperors of the eighth generation, that is, of the emperors involved in the theological disputes that followed the Council of Chalcedon (III B, 16–20). Leo I, who openly favoured the dogma of Chalcedon, blaspheming against the monophysite truth, was struck by the divine curse which deprived him of his kingdom and of his life. Basiliscus, too, suffered the same fate for having betrayed, with the issue of the pro-Chalcedonian *Antenkyklion*, the monophysite cause which he had previously embraced with the publication of the *Enkyklion*. Apart from the lukewarm and substantially dissatisfied judgment of the ambiguity of Zeno, the author's whole unconditioned approval goes to Anastasius. The latter, in fact, did not hesitate to depose those who, like the

Work from Early-Sixth Century Constantinople", *Traditio* 50 (1995), pp. 31–54, 33, n. 13.

¹¹³ See p. xxviii.

¹¹⁴ More details can be found in P.F. Beatrice, "Monophysite Christology in an Oracle of Apollo", pp. 11 ff.

pro-Chalcedonian Patriarch Euphemius of Constantinople (495/96), wounded and damaged monophysite orthodoxy.¹¹⁵

8. *A millenarian work*

The author of the *Theosophy* is a monophysite theologian. His position appears to be close to that of the radical Syro-Egyptian *akephaloi* who were active at the end of the fifth century.¹¹⁶ But he is also a convinced millenarian. The insistent reproposal of this perspective throughout the work proves that millennialism mattered to him very much.

The author of the *Theosophy* quotes Psalm 89,4 (2 Peter 3,8), Gen. 2,2 and I John 2,18, to maintain that the world is to last six thousand years. This means that the incarnation of Christ is to be placed in the year 5500 after Adam (*Epit.* 3; cf. *Chron.* VIII,3,8). In this he is the heir of a long and deep-rooted chiliastic tradition that goes back to Julius Africanus and Hippolytus of Rome (first half of the third century). He must certainly have known of the *Chronography* of Julius Africanus, whose name is quoted three times in the final chronicle (*Chron.* VI,2,13; VI,2,18; VII,5,2).

Consequently, the end of the world was expected to take place in the year 6000, and should have coincided with the year 500 A.D. or, rather, with the year 507/8. The author of the *Theosophy* was a follower of the Alexandrian chronology, as is shown by the fact that he adopts the theory of the cosmic cycles having a duration of 532 years (*Chron.* IX,3,3). This computation was introduced by Annianus in the early years of the fifth century, forecasting the end of the world for the year 508.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ I have explained the reasons for this new interpretation of the Tiburtine Sibyl in my essay "Das Orakel von Baalbek". There, I have expressed my criticism of the generally held opinion about the Chalcedonian origin of this oracle.

¹¹⁶ The best general treatment of the post-Chalcedonian controversies is to be found in the monumental work by A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. II: *From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604)*, part 1: *Reception and contradiction. The development of the discussion about Chalcedon from 451 to the beginning of the reign of Justinian*, Engl. tr., London-Oxford, 1987. However, neither the *Theosophy* nor the Baalbek Oracle are ever mentioned here.

¹¹⁷ Along with the standard work by V. Grumel, *Traité d'études byzantines*, I. *La chronologie*, Paris, 1958, it is also very useful to see W. Adler, *Time immemorial. Archaic history and its sources in Christian chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (DOS 26), Washington D.C., 1989.

The prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl strongly supports this millenarian chronology. Constantinople, founded in 330 A.D.—she says—, will not reach its 180th year of life, and its domain will end with the world before 510 (III B, 11); the labour pains of the cosmos, that is, the final period of history, will begin with the reign of Leo I (III B, 16); Ariadne's power will cease 32 years after the death of Leo I (474 A.D.), that is, by 506 (III B, 17), and the reign of Anastasius will last at most eleven years, that is, until 503 (III B, 20).

Various other Byzantine and Oriental sources of monophysite inspiration state that the year 6000 of the world fell during the reign of Anastasius.

At the beginning of the sixth century, Ecumenius, to whom we owe the first Greek commentary on the Book of Revelation, places the end of the world at five hundred years after the first coming of Christ on the basis of the traditional chiliastic chronology found in Psalm 89,4 and 2 Peter 3,8.¹¹⁸ John Malalas says that the Lord appeared on earth on the sixth millennium day, at the end of time.¹¹⁹ According to the *Chronicon pseudo-dionysianum* the year 6000 coincides with the sixteenth year of Anastasius,¹²⁰ while in the *Chronicon ad annum Domini 846 pertinens* the year 6000 of the world is the first year of Anastasius.¹²¹ Peter of Alexandria, in his universal chronicle which goes up to 912 A.D., claims that the sixth millennium was completed in the fifteenth year of Anastasius, that is, in the year 505 A.D.¹²² For Michael the Syrian, the monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, the sixth millennium ended in the second (or, according to other people, in the fourteenth) year of the reign of Anastasius, which coincided with the year 814 of the Seleucid era, that is, the year 504 A.D.¹²³

Despite slight differences in the identification of the exact year,

¹¹⁸ See the Greek text recently edited by M. de Groote, *Oecumenii Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (TEG 8), Leuven, 1999, pp. 67–68 and 248.

¹¹⁹ Malalas, X, pp. 228–229 Dindorf.

¹²⁰ *Incerti auctoris Chronicon pseudo-dionysianum vulgo dictum*, ed. J.-B. Chabot in CSCO 121, Script. Syri 66, Lovanii, 1949, p. 12.

¹²¹ See *Chronica Minora* II, ed. E.-W. Brooks, interpr. J.-B. Chabot in CSCO 4, Script. Syri 4, Louvain, 1960, p. 166. According to a marginal gloss other people said that it was the nineteenth year of Anastasius.

¹²² This text is quoted by W. Brandes, "Anastasios ὁ οἰκοποιός: Endzeiterwartung und Kaiserkritik in Byzanz um 500 n. Chr.," *Byz* 90 (1997), pp. 24–63, 55, n. 217.

¹²³ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*, trad. par J.-B. Chabot, t. II, Paris, 1901, pp. 167 ff.

the tradition seems to be unanimous. It is worth pointing out that this chiliastic calculation was preserved exclusively in sources of monophysite provenance. This "coincidence", too, could be a further signal of the monophysite origin of the *Theosophy*.¹²⁴

However, all the forecasts found in the oracle of the Tiburtine Sibyl proved to be equally mistaken, since in 510 Constantinople was in excellent condition, Ariadne died in 515 and Anastasius in 518. This means that the author of the prophecy was writing before these events, and certainly not after 503, the presumed year of the end of the reign of Anastasius.

As we might expect, the author of the *Theosophy* did not know the archaic Judeo-Christian doctrine of the thousand-year reign of Christ with His saints. Yet, he believed that Enoch and Elijah had been assumed into heaven in a form of provisional immortality (III A, 2,7; the assumption of Enoch is also recalled in *Chron.* I,1,8) and that, at their return, they would be killed by the Antichrist, but would then be revived by the Lord (III B, 28). In any case, he still defends the idea that the world history unfolds in six thousand years, basing his argument on the traditional typological exegesis of the Hexameron. In this case, too, he appears to be a representative of monophysite theology, where millennialism continued to circulate for several centuries.¹²⁵

9. *The date and place of composition*

The problem of the dating of the *Theosophy* is extremely complex because the text does not offer any clear and decisive clues. For this reason we can only express more or less probable hypotheses.

The fact that the world chronicle placed at the end of the work goes from Adam up to Zeno (†491), according to the information supplied by the Byzantine epitomizer (*Epit.* 2), would seem to indicate that the text was written during the reign of Anastasius (491–518),

¹²⁴ Research on the Byzantine apocalyptic literature is still in its early stages. For a first contact with this intricate tradition one can consult W. Brandes, "Die apokalyptische Literatur", in *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz (4.–9. Jahrhundert). Bestand und Probleme*, ed. by F. Winkelmann and W. Brandes, Amsterdam, 1990, pp. 305–322.

¹²⁵ See W. Witakowski, "The Idea of Septimana Mundi and the Millenarian Typology of the Creation in Syriac Tradition", in R. Lavenant (ed.), *V Symposium Syriacum 1988* (OrChrA 236), Roma, 1990, pp. 305–322.

as it was normal practice to end the chronographic narration immediately prior to the time of the living emperor. Besides, we have noted that the author of the *Theosophy* expected the end of Constantinople to take place before 510 and the end of the world no later than the year 507/8, while he expected the end of Anastasius and of Ariadne between 503 and 506. The work must, therefore, have been composed between 491 and 503. Perhaps it is possible to reduce this interval of time even more.

The manuscripts *Athen. BN. gr.* 1070 and *Paris. gr. suppl.* 690 report that Apollo's oracle on Christ (I,5) was engraved on a plate found in the 21st year of Anastasius, that is, in 511/12. Instead, the codex *Marcian. gr.* 573 states that the discovery was probably made in the first year of Anastasius (491/2). Unfortunately, the indications that follow as to the month and the day do not fit in with the year. It must be concluded that we are facing a textual corruption. Amongst so much confusion, only the fourth indiction of Anastasius can be taken as the most reliable element. During the reign of Anastasius, the fourth indiction fell twice, in 496 and in 511. Now, the year 511 is to be excluded because it falls after the end of the world, which was expected to take place not later than 507/8. So, only the year 496, the fifth year of Anastasius' reign, can be taken into consideration as the year of the discovery of the oracle, and as the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *Theosophy*.¹²⁶

An important argument, in a certain sense a decisive one for a more precise dating, is now provided by the Baalbek Oracle which, in my opinion, belongs to the third book of the *Theosophy*. On the basis of various historical observations, all equally valid, its first editor Alexander had no difficulty in placing the prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl in the years between 502 and 504, in coincidence with the start and the first phase of the Persian war. This dating is amply confirmed by other internal elements of the text. So the year 502/3 would be the most appropriate dating both for the *Theosophy* and for the previous treatise *On the Right Faith*. Alexander also suggested that the Baalbek Oracle might have been written in Heliopolis of Phoenicia (Baalbek), or in the neighbouring region, due to the author's evident admiration for the temples of that important religious centre (see III B, 9).¹²⁷

¹²⁶ See the discussion in P.F. Beatrice, "Monophysite Christology", pp. 15 f.

¹²⁷ J.P. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek*, pp. 41-47.

One might add that the first of the twelve famous mountains listed in *Chron.* II,7,5 is Mount Lebanon, which is in Phoenicia between Byblos and Berytus. However, the fact that the *Theosophy* may have been composed at Baalbek, or in the neighbouring region, does not necessarily mean that the author was a Phoenician. Indeed, he shows a keen interest in Egyptian wisdom in general (*Epit.* 1 and *Pref.* 3). Certain oracles (I,41–45) betray a considerable, very probably direct, knowledge of Egyptian places such as Ombos, Coptos, Elephantine, and the so-called σούριγγες, the burial vaults of the Valley of the Kings.¹²⁸ It has also been rightly pointed out that the author of the *Theosophy* is familiar with the Alexandrian recension of the Biblical text (*Pref.* 1 and II,5). On the whole, all this reveals his close contacts with Egypt and its cultural and ecclesiastical traditions.¹²⁹ Nor should his evident interest in Constantinople and its providential mission be overlooked (I,17).

The discussion on the place of composition of the *Theosophy* thus inevitably involves the investigation of the cultural background of its author. This man seems to have travelled extensively, acquiring a variety of cultural experiences, and to have possessed an open-mindedness that for that time was quite out of the ordinary.¹³⁰

10. *The author and his cultural background*

It is a well-known fact that trying to discover the authors of anonymous early Christian works is always a risky business, the results of which are often uncertain. We could mention numerous examples of attempts at restitution that have been discussed at length, but have not yet been definitively and satisfactorily concluded. Some

¹²⁸ The correct meaning of the rare word σούριγγες is given by Pausanias, *Perieg.* I,42,3, and Aelianus, *De nat. anim.* VI,43 and XVI,15. See also two Egyptian inscriptions in W. Dittenberger, *OGIS*, vol. II, Lipsiae, 1905, pp. 432 f., n. 694, and p. 462, nos. 720–721. For the first editor Buresch, *Klaros*, p. 109, this word meant the Libyan tribe of the Σηράγγαι or Σιράγγαι mentioned by Ptolemaeus, *Geogr. enarr.* IV,6,17; consequently he printed the wrong text: κατὰ τοὺς λεγομένους Σηράγγας. Unfortunately, he was followed by W. Scott – A.S. Ferguson, *Hermetica* IV, Oxford, 1936, p. 226, and Erbse (in both editions).

¹²⁹ This remark by Buresch, *Klaros*, p. 91, was accepted by Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*, p. 3; *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, pp. XIII f. See most recently P. Athanassiadi, *Damascius. The Philosophical History*, pp. 353 f. Of course, familiarity with Egypt does not entail the Egyptian origin of the author and his work.

¹³⁰ See the perceptive note 129 by G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, p. 181.

years ago I myself dealt with the so-called *Epistle to Diognetus*, indicating Polycarp of Smyrna as the possible writer of that mysterious document.¹³¹ Elsewhere, I suggested that Apollos of Alexandria, the great rival of Paul at Corinth, could be the most probable author of the encratite *Gospel according to the Egyptians*.¹³² I am well aware of the difficulties involved in undertakings of this kind. However, the data that have emerged so far are clear enough to sketch a fairly precise portrait of the author of the *Theosophy*, and make it legitimate to attempt to propose, just as a working hypothesis, the name of the person who might have written such an unusual work.

The author of the *Theosophy* is a man who has read a vast amount of literary, historiographic and philosophical works of classical antiquity. He also possesses a profound knowledge of Greco-Roman and Oriental religious traditions. The impressive number of quotations demonstrates the obviousness of this statement. It is difficult to establish how much of this material is due to first-hand reading. It cannot be excluded that he resorted to those manuals and anthologies which formed the usual tools for the encyclopedism of his time (suffice it to think of the anthology of Stobaeus or the sentences of Menander).

As regards his knowledge of the Patristic tradition, the following remarks are to be made.

With the exception of Cyril of Alexandria's treatise *Against Julian*, of which he seems to be the oldest witness (II,45-49), the *Divine Institutes* by Firmianus (Lactantius) (III A, 1,7-8), and the *Chronography* by Julius Africanus (*Chron.* VI,2,13; VI,2,18; VII,5,2), he does not quote any other Christian writer.¹³³ Nonetheless, it is difficult to deny that he drew useful information and solid teaching also from other apologetic works such as the *Cohortatio* by Pseudo-Justin, the *Preparation for the Gospel* and the *Proof of the Gospel* by Eusebius of Caesarea, and the treatise *On the Trinity* attributed to Didymus the Blind. Perhaps Clement of Alexandria should be included in this list. The fundamental idea that the source (πηγή) of Wisdom wished to benefit all

¹³¹ P.F. Beatrice, "Der Presbyter des Irenäus, Polykarp von Smyrna und der Brief an Diognet", in *Pléroma. Salus carnis*. Miscelánea en homenaje al P. Antonio Orbe, Santiago de Compostela, 1990, pp. 179-202.

¹³² P.F. Beatrice, "Apollos of Alexandria and the Origins of the Jewish-Christian Baptist Encratism", in W. Haase (ed.), *ANRW* II.26.2, Berlin-New York, 1995, pp. 1232-1275.

¹³³ R.M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius*, p. 53, completely overlooks the quotation of Lactantius in the *Theosophy* because he only uses the Tübingen excerpt which lacks any reference to Lactantius.

men indifferently, Greeks and barbarians (*Pref.* 1), had already been put forward by Theodoret of Cyrrhus in his treatise *The cure of pagan maladies* VIII,2–3. Also the identification of paganism with a disease (III A, 1,9: τοῖς νοσοῦσι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων) refers back to the title and apologetic programme of this famous treatise by the bishop of Cyrrhus (Ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικῆ παθημάτων).

The literal quotation from Lactantius reveals another very interesting aspect of the culture of the author of the *Theosophy*, namely, his knowledge of Latin, something which had become very rare among the Byzantine writers of that period.¹³⁴ This makes it very likely that he was also able to read the Latin text of Virgil's *Aeneid*, which he used in the catalogue of the Sibyls.¹³⁵ The quotation of Lactantius' text in the *Theosophy* is also important for another reason. The editor of Lactantius' work in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Samuel Brandt, published the entire Greek text of the *Theosophy* III A, 1,9–12 (from Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν εὕρισκόμενα τὰ Σιβυλλιακὰ τοὺν ἀνθρώπων ἐδημιούργησεν) as Lactantius' *Fragm. VIII* (*spurious*).¹³⁶ This Greek fragment is again mentioned in the fifth volume of the recent, authoritative *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*.¹³⁷ Now, the publication of the Latin quotation from Lactantius gives definitive evidence that the Greek text of the alleged fragment 8 has nothing to do with Lactantius, but is an integral part of the *Theosophy*, which is clearly inspired by Pseudo-Justin's *Cohortatio* 37,2–3.

That the author of the *Theosophy* had a fair knowledge of Lactantius' apologetic work is also proven by the sequence of the Sibylline fragments in the third book. At times, he seems to be translating Lactantius' text, so close is the adherence to the Latin model. For instance, the title of Chrysippus' work ΠΕΡΙ ΘΕΟΤΗΤΟΣ (III A, 1,3) can only derive from a misinterpretation of the Latin *De divinatione* found in Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* I,6,9. This evident dependence on Lactantius has convinced me to consider with special attention, for the Greek text of the Sibylline oracles, the readings found in Lactantius, rather than those handed down in the remaining manuscript tradition.

¹³⁴ Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* I,6,13, is quoted in III A, 1,8.

¹³⁵ Virgil, *Aen.* VI, 35 f. is mentioned in III A, 1,3.

¹³⁶ See CSEL 19, p. CX and CXII; CSEL 27, pp. 158–160.

¹³⁷ See A. Wlosok, "L. Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius", in *Restauration und Erneuerung. Die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 n. Chr.* (HLL 5), ed. by R. Herzog, München, 1989, § 570, pp. 375–404, 404: "Lact. frg. 8, aus der sogenannten Sibyllen-Theosophie".

I have already presented the monophysite and millenarian ideas of the author of the *Theosophy*. Now, I may add that his use of the Biblical text is that of a writer who generally follows the Septuagint for the Old Testament and the Alexandrian recension of the New Testament. However, he does this not in a servile way, taking some liberties which reveal that he was a strong and original character.

What may legitimately be deduced from these observations? Which writer of that period possessed the necessary features for us to credit him with the authorship of a work thus conceived? I believe that the name of the monk Severus of Sozopolis, who became the monophysite Patriarch of Antioch from 512 to 518 A.D., could be proposed not without grounds. The name of Severus has always struck me as the only one able to give a satisfactory answer to the numerous queries that emerged during the preparatory studies, the principal conclusions of which are given below.

11. *Severus of Antioch?*

Severus of Antioch's familiarity with the classical tradition, with the religious philosophy of paganism and ecclesiastical literature was decidedly outstanding, as is confirmed by his biographer, Zacharias Scholasticus.¹³⁸

He reports that Severus, born in Sozopolis in Asia Minor, studied both Greek and Latin grammar and rhetoric at Alexandria,¹³⁹ and that he then went to Berytus to take a course in Roman civil law.¹⁴⁰ There, he devoted himself to the systematic study of the writings of the Christian apologists against paganism.¹⁴¹ These biographical data shed light on the numerous references to Egyptian and Phoenician paganism that are so important in the *Theosophy*.

Zacharias tried, rather awkwardly, to conceal the well-known fact that, before his conversion, Severus had really been a convinced follower of pagan religious practices.¹⁴² Severus was reproached for

¹³⁸ The Syriac text of the *Life of Severus* by Zacharias Scholasticus is edited with a French translation by M.-A. Kugener, *Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scholastique*, in PO 2, fasc. 1, n° 6, Paris, 1903 (repr. Turnhout, 1971), pp. 7-115.

¹³⁹ PO 2, p. 11.

¹⁴⁰ PO 2, p. 47.

¹⁴¹ PO 2, p. 53.

¹⁴² The apologetic tendency of Zacharias' biography was keenly highlighted by

these pagan contaminations not only in an anonymous defamatory booklet, to which Zacharias wished to reply by means of his edifying biography, but also in official ecclesiastical documents.¹⁴³ Severus himself admitted his pagan religious past in a homily in honour of St. Leontius of Tripolis, the martyr in whose sanctuary he made the decision to convert to Christianity.¹⁴⁴ The extent to which he remained faithful to the classical culture of his youth after his conversion is shown by the fact that he did not think it unfitting to quote sayings of pagan sages and lines of pagan poets even in his cathedral homilies preached to the people of Antioch.¹⁴⁵

So, it is not surprising that a man with such a past, steeped in profane culture and idolatrous beliefs, composed an apologetic work like the *Theosophy*. Its author carries out a kind of self-purifying ritual, which consists in reducing the great pagan literary, philosophical and religious tradition, by which he had been dominated for so long, to a prophecy of the truth of Christianity. He succeeds in freeing himself of his pagan past by transforming it into a preparatory stage of his conversion. Never, as in this case, have the personal, indeed, autobiographical implications of the apologetic procedure been so clear.

This operation is all the more valuable and becomes particularly significant when we think that the apologetic anthology entitled *Theosophy* acts as the justificatory appendix of a treatise on the orthodox Christian faith. Severus embraced this faith without reserves, and fought long to defend it, paying a very high personal price. This faith was basically the moderate monophysite theology of Cyril of Alexandria, which was transmitted to him principally by Peter the Iberian. Severus developed his own thought in a polemical confrontation on the one hand against the dyophysite Christology of Chalcedon, of Pope Leo, John of Caesarea and Nephalius, and on

W. Bauer, "Die Severus-Vita des Zacharias Rhetor", in *Aufsätze und kleine Schriften*, ed. by G. Strecker, Tübingen, 1967, pp. 210–228.

¹⁴³ See, e.g., the *Libellus monachorum ad Menam* (ed. E. Schwartz in ACO III, p. 40) and the *Epistola episcoporum orientalium ad Agapetum* (*ibid.*, p. 148).

¹⁴⁴ The Coptic translation of this exceptionally important document was first discovered and edited by G. Garitte, "Textes hagiographiques orientaux relatifs à Saint Léonce de Tripoli. II. L'homélie copte de Sévère d'Antioche", *Muséon* 79 (1966), pp. 335–386.

¹⁴⁵ See the *Laudatio S. Leontii* 5,10 (Garitte, p. 375); 8,11 (Garitte, p. 377); *Hom. cath.* XXVII (PO 36, p. 571). On the classical formation of Severus see in general P.F. Beatrice, "Monophysite Christology", esp. pp. 18 ff.

the other hand against the radical Monophysites such as Eutyches, Sergius the Grammarian and Julian of Halicarnassus.¹⁴⁶

Now, the spiritual affinity of the author of the *Theosophy* with the apologetic and theological method of the Alexandrian Patriarch is clearly documented not only by the explicit quotations (II,45–49) from Book I of the treatise *Against Julian* (ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΘΡΗΣΚΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΟΥ). It would not seem completely unfounded to detect Cyril's influence even in the title of the lost seven-book treatise *On the Right Faith*. This title in fact recalls the three famous speeches by Cyril Περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως.¹⁴⁷ At any rate, the presence of the quotations from Cyril's work is to be assessed as an important argument in favour of the attribution of the *Theosophy* to Severus of Antioch, who chose to fight under the flag of loyalty to the teachings of Cyril of Alexandria.

The *Theosophy* also uses the *Testament of the Lord and the Commandments of the Apostles*, an apocryphal monophysite work which Severus is the first to mention in a letter to a certain Thecla *comitissa*. This is certainly another observation which strongly supports the attribution of the *Theosophy* to the monophysite theologian Severus.¹⁴⁸

From this point of view, also the striking similarities of Plato's and Menander's sentences (II,53 and 56) with Pseudo-Dionysius' treatise *On the Divine Names*, have considerable weight. Severus is the first author to give literary evidence of the existence of the Pseudo-Dionysian writings. He quotes the Areopagite's famous fourth epistle to the monk Gaius in a letter to a certain John the Hegoumenos.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, certainly not by chance, he twice quotes the treatise *On the Divine Names* II, 9, respectively in *Adversus Apologiam Juliani*, 25,

¹⁴⁶ The best available exposition of Severus' theology is that by A. Grillmeier (in collaboration with Th. Hainthaler), *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. II: *From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604)*, part 2: *The Church of Constantinople in the sixth century*, Engl. tr., London-Louisville, 1995, pp. 17–175.

¹⁴⁷ See the Greek text in ACO I/1,1, pp. 42–72; I/1,5, pp. 26–61; I/1,5, pp. 62–118.

¹⁴⁸ On Severus' mention of this apocryphal work, currently known by the modern title *Octateuch of Clement*, see F. Nau, *La version syriaque de l'Octateuque de Clément* (Ancienne littérature canonique syriaque, fasc. IV), Paris, 1913, pp. 8–11, and B. Steimer, *Vertex Traditionis. Die Gattung der altchristlichen Kirchenordnungen* (BZNW 63), Berlin-New York, 1992, pp. 141–148.

¹⁴⁹ A fragment of this letter is reproduced in the *Doctrina Patrum*, ch. 41, xxiv–xxv (ed. F. Diekamp – B. Phanourgakis – E. Chrysos, *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi. Ein griechisches Florilegium aus der Wende des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts*, Münster, 1981², pp. 309 f.).

and in *Contra additiones Juliani*, 41.¹⁵⁰ According to Pseudo-Zacharias, Severus had seriously studied the works by Hierotheus, Dionysius, Titus and Timothy.¹⁵¹

As well as a monophysite theologian, Severus is also an adherent of chiliasm, just like the author of the *Theosophy*. He is still fully convinced of the validity of the hexaemeral typology according to which world history would be consumed in six thousand years.¹⁵² Concerning this, it is worth mentioning that, in his *Epist.* 81, Severus makes use of the same two New Testament quotations found in the *Theosophy* (see *Epit.* 3), that is, 2 Peter 3,8 and 1 John 2,18. He also claims that Henoch and Elijah enjoy provisional immortality, but he harshly criticises all those who claim that the same fate is also shared by John the Evangelist.¹⁵³ For this reason, if Severus is really the author of the *Theosophy*, it seems advisable to delete the sentence on the provisional immortality of John (III A, 2,7: καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς μένει ὡς οἱ προλεχθέντες ἕως τῆς δευτέρας τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίας θανάτου ἁμοιροῦς) which should rather be considered a later gloss interpolated for theological motives.¹⁵⁴

It is extremely difficult to establish the Biblical text used by Severus, since it can only be reconstructed through the Syriac translations of his cathedral homilies. Notwithstanding this, the impression is that it was substantially independent and equidistant from both the "Lucianic" recension and the Alexandrian recension.¹⁵⁵ Thus it presents the same relative liberty found in the Scriptural quotations of the *Theosophy*. Unfortunately, the study of Severus' Biblical text is still in its early stages. This situation prevents us from carrying out an in-depth comparison.

The last question concerns the books of magic and demonology. Porphyry's speculations on demons and his polemics against Christianity

¹⁵⁰ For the interpretation of these citations I refer the reader to J. Lebon, "Le Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite et Sévère d'Antioche", *RHE* 26 (1930), pp. 880-915.

¹⁵¹ Ps.-Zacharias, *Hist. eccl.* VII,12. I quote the edition by M.-A. Kugener, in PO 2, fasc. 3, n° 8, Paris, 1904 (repr. Turnhout, 1971), p. 272.

¹⁵² See esp. Severus, *Epist.* 79 (PO 14, p. 125); *Epist.* 81 (PO 14, pp. 128-131); *Hom. cath.* II,26 (PO 38, p. 285).

¹⁵³ See Severus, *Epist.* 93 (PO 14, pp. 170-177).

¹⁵⁴ See P.F. Beatrice, "Traditions apocryphes", pp. 115 ff.

¹⁵⁵ See the partial analysis by C.J.A. Lash, "The Scriptural Citations in the 'Homiliae Cathedrales' of Severus of Antioch and the Textual Criticism of the Greek Old Testament", in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica* 12 (TU 115), Berlin, 1975, pp. 321-327.

were well known to Severus' circle.¹⁵⁶ Zacharias writes that Severus was able to give Christian students his precious advise against paganism and sorcery because he was well acquainted with the books of Zoroaster, Ostanès, and Manetho, which were widely read among the pagan students of Berytus.¹⁵⁷ Severus, then, must have been particularly interested in the use of the Christianized version of the book of Hystaspès in order to show that even Zoroaster, as well as many other pagan sages of the past, had prophesied the Incarnation of the Lord. Not by chance, in the *Theosophy* (II,55) also the name of Ostanès is mentioned in connection with the mystery of the Virgin Birth.

In conclusion, though we must admit that none of these clues alone is enough to prove that Severus was the author of the *Theosophy*, it seems undeniable that their combined strength has a special attractive power and compels us at least to take this possibility into serious consideration. One might even quite legitimately wonder whether the mysterious Timothy, mentioned only by Malalas as an authoritative source for his oracular and chronographic material,¹⁵⁸ is not in actual fact a mere pseudonym intended to designate, in a veiled manner and with all due caution, after the condemnation on the part of Justinian, the author of the *Theosophy*, the great and venerated Patriarch Severus, the guardian of monophysite orthodoxy and therefore the "honour of God".¹⁵⁹

At any rate, it may be easily understood why the seven-book treatise *On the Right Faith* was lost. Its fate in the Byzantine world was marked by its outspoken monophysite content. Most probably this work is to be identified with Severus' dogmatic treatise *On Faith* which has left traces only in the Coptic-Arabic florilegium *The Precious Pearl*.¹⁶⁰ The *Theosophy*, on the contrary, was amply reused and therefore survived, albeit only in fragments and through extensive contamination, for several centuries more, as it offered abundant material

¹⁵⁶ See Zacharias in PO 2, p. 42.

¹⁵⁷ Zacharias' long digression on this subject is found in PO 2, pp. 57-76, and 90 f.

¹⁵⁸ See E. Jeffreys, "Malalas' Sources", pp. 194 ff.

¹⁵⁹ Timothy was also the pseudonym used by Salvian of Marseille in his work *Ad ecclesiam*: see A.E. Haefner, "A Unique Source for the Study of Ancient Pseudonymity", *ATHR* 16 (1934), pp. 8-15.

¹⁶⁰ See G. Graf, "Zwei dogmatischen Florilegien der Kopten. A. Die kostbare Perle", *OrChrP* 3 (1937), pp. 49-77, 75; Idem, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, I, pp. 418 f.

for the apologetic controversy against pagans and Jews, and for chronographic speculation.

12. *Manuscripts and editions*

Since this edition of the *Theosophy* was conceived and structured rather differently from Erbse's edition of the Greek theosophical fragments, it can only be based on a manuscript documentation that largely differs from the one used by the illustrious German scholar. A list is given below of the manuscripts and editions which were used for the preparation of the present edition, following the order of the individual sections of which the work is composed.

Part 1

T For the Byzantine summary, the Preface and the collection of oracles in Book I, *testis unicus* is nearly always the codex Mb 27 (sixteenth century), fol. 67r–87r, of the University Library at Tübingen (= T). After Buresch's *editio princeps* and the two editions by Erbse (1941 and 1995), the manuscript's deciphering no longer presents any problem. However, in the absence of other sources, it is now no longer possible to measure its exact distance from the original, and to check its degree of reliability. Only for the oracle of Apollo about Christ (I,5) do we possess a longer version which has every probability of being the authentic one.

F Buresch had already discovered the long text of this oracle in the codex *Athen. BN. gr.* 1070 (thirteenth century), fol. 186v (= F), but he only published it in the appendix of his dissertation, without discussing it in depth.¹⁶¹ The complete text of the oracle, with the prophecies of the seven sages, was later published by A. Delatte.¹⁶² Erbse reproduced it in both his editions, but, falling prey to an evolutionistic prejudice of a positivistic kind, he assessed it, in my opinion erroneously, as a later amplification of the short text of the Tübingen manuscript, which he considered to be the original one. Now, the same long version of the oracle is also found in the older Venice manuscript, the *Marcian. gr.* 573 (ninth/tenth century), fol.

¹⁶¹ K. Buresch, *Klaros*, pp. 130 f.

¹⁶² A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, pp. 328–330.

M

26–30 (= M).¹⁶³ The oracle of Apollo is quoted in full in a fragment taken from the final part of a lost work of uncertain date, entitled *Symphony* (πρὸς τὰ τέλη τῆς συμφωνίας ἐπεγέγραπτο οὗτος ὁ λόγος, according to a marginal note), in which the author wished to show the harmony of the statements of Cyril of Alexandria and of the divine Scripture with the dogma defined at Chalcedon (Συμφωνία τῶν παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Κυρίλλου τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπου εἰρημένων καὶ τῶν παρὰ τῆς θείας γραφῆς πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἁγίας συνόδου δογματισθέντα περὶ τῆς πίστεως). It was evidently a typical dyophysite florilegium, which should not be confused with the *Symphony* found in the Vatican codex, which will be discussed below in *Part 2* as a direct witness of the text of the *Theosophy*. It is certainly curious to see how this oracle was removed from its original monophysite context to be transformed into a tool for Chalcedonian controversy. This was only possible thanks to its recognized strength as a polemical anti-pagan document, which guaranteed its survival and allowed it to be reused in a totally different ecclesiastical milieu.

Thus, the version of the oracle found in the Tübingen manuscript is to be seen as a later abbreviation, drafted according to the normal practice of the Byzantine epitomizer. Other manuscripts contain only the second part of the oracle. This is, again, the result of a later mutilation of the same oracle. In this edition, I have printed the long text of the oracle, with a few slight variations with respect to the *editio princeps* of the Venice manuscript published recently by Brian E. Daley.¹⁶⁴

For some oracles, as may be seen in the apparatus, it was useful to collate the Tübingen manuscript with Steuchus' work and the manuscripts already known to Piccolos and Wolff. However, I feel that in order to arrive at the definition of a text which is presumably closer to the lost original of the oracles contained in I,45 and I,54–55, as well as of the oracle of Apollo in I,5, we have to resort to the collation of the Tübingen manuscript with the minor collections listed below, in point 2, first of all with the *Symphony*.

I also believe it is legitimate to incorporate into Book I two other oracles that are not recorded in the Tübingen manuscript, namely: a) the oracular response to the Egyptian king Thoulis (I,49), which

¹⁶³ This manuscript is listed by E. Mioni, *Bibliotheca Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti*, vol. II: *Thesaurus antiquus codices 300–625*, Rome, 1985, p. 478.

¹⁶⁴ See B.E. Daley, "Apollo as a Chalcedonian".

was also quoted by Malalas,¹⁶⁵ and is mentioned in the collection of the Oxford codex *Baroccianus* edited by R. Bentley; b) the oracle received by the Pharaoh Petissonius (I,50), which was quoted again by Malalas,¹⁶⁶ and was later transformed into a saying of Solon's, the Athenian sage and legislator. Also the two oracular inscriptions from the Scamander (I,56 and 62), to be found exclusively in the *Symphony*, most likely belonged to the *Theosophy*. However, the edition of Book I would be incomplete without the New Testament quotations which illustrate the thesis of the fundamental agreement between the pagan oracles and the Biblical revelation. These quotations are not to be found in the Tübingen manuscript. Like the oracles from the Scamander, they are recorded only in the *Symphony* of the Vatican codex.

Part 2

The edition of Book II, including the theological sentences of the Greek and Egyptian sages, seems to be even more complex. Only a small part of the material comes from the Tübingen manuscript which must, consequently, be integrated with the data offered by three other minor collections.

Σ a) In the first place there is the Συμφωνία ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ θεόπνευστον νέαν γραφὴν κτλ. (= Σ), transmitted by the codex *Vaticanus gr.* 2200 (eighth/ninth century, the famous manuscript of the *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*), fol. 444–454:¹⁶⁷ partial *editio princeps* by J.B. Pitra,¹⁶⁸ reproduced by W. Scott – A.S. Ferguson¹⁶⁹ and by H. Erbse.¹⁷⁰

This is certainly the oldest and most authoritative collection. The sayings of the Greek and Egyptian sages have been mixed with certain oracles and distributed by the anonymous compiler in three sections, respectively concerning the Trinity (Περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ πανσέπτου τριάδος), the Incarnation (Περὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν), and the Crucifixion (Περὶ τῆς τιμίας καὶ σωτηριώδους αὐτοῦ σταυρώσεως). This late organization of the collection does not, how-

¹⁶⁵ Dindorf, p. 25.

¹⁶⁶ Dindorf, pp. 65–66.

¹⁶⁷ See F. Diekamp – B. Phanourgakis – E. Chrysos, *Doctrina Patrum*, p. XIII.

¹⁶⁸ J.B. Pitra, *Analecta*, pp. 305–308.

¹⁶⁹ W. Scott – A.S. Ferguson, *Hermetica*, pp. 225–227.

¹⁷⁰ H. Erbse, *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, pp. 91–104. He adds some *fragmenta addubitata* taken from other sources (pp. 105–108).

ever, conceal the very old, probably original, character of the material that is derived, more or less directly, from the *Theosophy*.

The twenty-one New Testament quotations are of particular importance. These quotations, as I have said, are recorded exclusively in this manuscript. However paradoxical it may appear, they have never been published before, not even by the editors, Pitra, Scott-Ferguson, and Erbse, who at different times provided an edition of the rest of the *Symphony*. Erbse, in particular, is of the opinion that they are simply paraphrastic, marginal notes introduced in a disorderly manner by the scribe of the Vatican codex.¹⁷¹ On the contrary, I think that these quotations belonged to the original text of the *Theosophy*, in the structure of which they played the precise and irreplaceable role of providing the Biblical support for the main thesis of the basic harmony between pagan wisdom and Christian revelation. What I plan to give here is the *editio princeps* of the Vatican *Symphony*. However, the reader should note that the New Testament quotations of the *Symphony* also refer to some oracles belonging to Book I of the *Theosophy*. This is why they have been redistributed in this edition between Books I and II, in the extremely problematic attempt of finding the least-arbitrary placing for each of them.

No less interesting are the Hermetic *excerpta* and the quotations from Cyril's treatise *Against Julian* which the compiler of the *Symphony* evidently took from the *Theosophy* (see II, 32–34; 42; 45–49). If one considers that the oldest known manuscript of Cyril's *Against Julian*, i.e. the *Scorialensis* Ψ.III.12, dates back to the thirteenth century, the great value of the *Symphony* becomes clear. This is why the *Symphony* should be held in due consideration also in the preparation of a new critical edition of Cyril's apologetic treatise. The title, structure and content of the *Symphony* reveal its great antiquity. This collection is very close to the *Theosophy* and certainly older than the Vatican codex. For this reason, I believe it is necessary to systematically collate the Tübingen manuscript with the *Symphony* in order to recover, as far as possible, at least some of the authentic readings of the *Theosophy*. The use of the *Symphony* concerns not only the three common oracles of Book I (5, 45 and 54–55), but also certain philosophic and Hermetic sayings of Book II, and above all the precious

¹⁷¹ H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*, pp. 143–145. The list of these New Testament citations is not without inaccuracies, which I have tacitly rectified.

quotations from the New Testament and from Cyril which I have tried to put back into place.

The other two minor collections are:

- χ b) Χρησμοὶ καὶ θεολογίαι Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφων (= χ). Its principal witness is the codex *Oxon. Barocc. gr.* 50 (eleventh century), fol. 375–376 (= B'), used by R. Bentley in his letter *ad Millium*;¹⁷²
- π c) Προφητεῖαι τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν (= π). Its principal witnesses are the codices *Paris. gr. suppl.* 690 (twelfth century), fol. 248v–249r (= P), and *Athen. B.N. gr.* 1070 (thirteenth century), fol. 186r–186v (= F); *editio princeps* by Delatte.¹⁷³

These two collections, of which the considerable distance from the lost original is evident, underwent the same numerous manipulations which produced other even more complicated and fantastic collections of sayings of Greek sages. Erbse designated them with the Greek letters μ, τ, and Δ. These Medieval collections are particularly interesting for the study of the Christian reinterpretation of the sayings of the seven sages, whose prophetic figures were widely represented in Byzantine church paintings from the twelfth to the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁴

The sayings of π, except that of Menander, are all found in both Σ and χ, while ten oracles and sayings of Σ also appear in χ. So, there is no denying that there is a certain relationship between these three collections, even though greater precision becomes problematic. According to A. von Premerstein, all three derive from an archetype, a lost *Grundsammlung*, which he identified as X. This archetype was later than the *Theosophy*, and was exploited in Malalas' *Chronography* around the year 560.¹⁷⁵ This critical perspective is shared by Erbse.

¹⁷² See above, n. 12. The text is reprinted by H. Erbse, *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, pp. 109–116.

¹⁷³ A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, pp. 328–330. The text is reprinted by H. Erbse, *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, pp. 117–122.

¹⁷⁴ Bibliography on this fascinating subject includes V.G. Grécu, "Darstellungen heidnischer Denker und Schriftsteller in der Kirchenmalerei des Morgenlandes", in *Académie Roumaine. Bulletin de la section historique* 10 (1924), pp. 1–68; A. von Premerstein, "Griechisch-heidnische Weise als Verkünder christlicher Lehre in Handschriften und Kirchenmalereien", in *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, hrsg. zur Feier des 200jährigen Bestehens des Gebäudes, Wien, 1926, pp. 647–666; K. Spetsieris, "Eikones hellenon philosophon eis ekklesias", *EEPS*, II series, 14 (1963/64), pp. 386–458 (in Greek); I.D. Dujčev, *Heidnische Philosophen und Schriftsteller in der bulgarischen Wandmalerei* (Vorträge Rhein. Akad. der Wissenschaften G. 214), Opladen, 1976.

¹⁷⁵ A. von Premerstein, "Griechisch-heidnische Weise", pp. 664 f.

He adds that the *terminus post quem* for dating this common collection, which he designates with the Greek letter ω , may be indicated as the 21st year of Anastasius, that is, 512 A.D., because this is the year of the alleged finding of the oracle of Apollo on Christ (I,5) according to π .

Two main objections may be raised against this ingenious reconstruction. The first is that the date of the finding of Apollo's oracle is not at all certain and that, as I have already remarked in chapter IX, the most probable year seems instead to be 496 (the fourth indiction of Anastasius' prior to the end of the world). Secondly, these three minor collections have three oracles in common with the Tübingen manuscript (I,5; 45; 54–55). This means that there must have been a precise relationship between these four collections. But what kind of relationship was it?

I have felt obliged to reject the chronological argument used by Erbse to sustain that the archetype ω of the three minor collections was written after the *Theosophy*. Besides, there is no reason to think that the author of this alleged common source also used materials other than those transmitted by the *Theosophy*. It seems much simpler to suppose that the oracles and the sayings included in the three collections all originally belonged to the *Theosophy*, and that only the whimsical, now undecipherable, vicissitudes of the manuscript tradition separated, modified and reunited them during the Middle Ages, until they assumed their present form. So, I am compelled to think either that the hypothetical archetype ω , which according to Erbse was different from, and later than, the *Theosophy*, never existed, or that, if it really did exist, it was only an intermediate collection, itself entirely derived from the *Theosophy*. In this latter case, it would be completely superfluous and useless for the purpose of recovering the original text.

In this new edition of the *Theosophy*, the sayings of the Greek philosophers and the Hermetic texts, which respectively carry the Greek and Egyptian theologies, are gathered together in Book II. Nevertheless, as it is impossible to determine the original position of the single sayings and their mutual interdependence, I have had to limit myself to listing them in the order in which they appear in the Tübingen manuscript and in the three minor collections mentioned above. Particular preference is to be given to the *Symphony* on account of the antiquity and authoritative nature of the Vatican codex.

In establishing the presumably original text for each saying, I have

taken care to avoid reproducing all the numerous repetitions and the secondary variant readings. This process of gradual elimination of the derived material produces considerable simplification, which is certainly useful for a deeper understanding of the history of the text. So, for example, on the basis of this selective criterion, the collection π (the sayings of the seven sages), of its own offers only Menander's saying, as all the other sayings are already more correctly recorded in the other collections. Clearly, this has not been a simple operation, nor are the results absolutely guaranteed. However, it was worth trying, even though a margin of uncertainty inevitably remains.

Part 3

Book III, the *Theosophy of the Sibyls*, consists of two long fragments.

- λ a) The first fragment is taken from the codex *Ottobon. gr.* 378 (sixteenth century), fol. 18r–25v (= λ), discovered and published by K. Mras in 1906.¹⁷⁶ For his new 1995 edition, Erbse was able to personally collate the codex *Mutinensis misc. gr.* 126 (= D; olim III.D.7),¹⁷⁷ Fol. 288v–292v (tenth or eleventh century), were probably written by the same scribe of the codex *Laur. pl.* 5, 3, the only witness of Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis*, while fol. 293r–294v are in a later hand (fourteenth century).¹⁷⁸ My edition of this fragment is also generally based on these two manuscripts, but in some places I was able to provide better readings.

The relevant paragraphs of the Tübingen manuscript (θ 75–83 in Erbse's edition) cannot be used to reconstruct the authentic text of Book III of the *Theosophy*, because they contain only a summary which sometimes opposes the original content of the section. Never, as in this case, has it been so evident that the Byzantine text transcribed in the Tübingen manuscript is just a late and not completely reliable compilation.

- b) The second fragment reports the prophecy of the Tiburtine Sybil. The Byzantine version of this oracle, also known as the Baalbek Oracle, is transmitted by only three manuscripts: the codex *Athos*

¹⁷⁶ K. Mras, "Eine neuentdeckte Sibyllen-Theosophie".

¹⁷⁷ H. Erbse, *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, pp. 57–90: 'Textus genuinus Theosophiae Sibyllarum'.

¹⁷⁸ See P.M. Barnard, *Clement of Alexandria. Quis dives salvetur* (TaS V,2), Cambridge, 1897, pp. IX–XII; O. Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, Erster Band: *Protrepticus und Paedagogus*, 3. durchges. Auf. von U. Treu (GCS 12), Berlin, 1972, pp. XXV–XXVII.

1527 or *Karakallou* 14 (twelfth century), fol. 280v–286v (= K); the codex *Vatican. gr.* 1120 (fourteenth century), fol. 417–423 (= Q); the codex *Athen. B.N. gr.* 2725 (= *suppl.* 725) (sixteenth century), fol. 210v–219v (= A). We owe the *editio princeps* of this text to P.J. Alexander.¹⁷⁹ He found support in certain Latin manuscripts, already used by Ernst Sackur, which sometimes help us understand a strongly contaminated and confused text.¹⁸⁰

Part 4

It is impossible to know the content of the book of Hystaspes. As I have already said, some general, indirect pieces of information about its apocalyptic content are provided exclusively by a few passages in Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria and, above all, Lactantius.¹⁸¹ In this desperate situation, I made the decision to reproduce, as the sole surviving fragment, Zoroaster's famous prophecy to Hystaspes on the coming of the Messiah.¹⁸²

This text, based on authentic Iranian traditions, was rewritten in the second century A.D. by Christians living in Mesopotamia, and was very probably reused by the author of the *Theosophy* as an integral part of his apologetic project aimed at making good use of all the "pagan" prophecies of Christianity. Zoroaster's Christianized prophecy is first found in the *Mimrā* VII,21 of the Syriac *Liber Scholiorum* by Theodore Bar-Koni (eighth century).¹⁸³ This text was translated into French for the first time by the Bollandist Paul Peeters for the *Mages hellénisés* by Bidez and Cumont,¹⁸⁴ and is now available in the French translation by Robert Hespel and René Draguet.¹⁸⁵

Part 5

Finally, the universal chronicle which concludes the *Theosophy*. This is to be identified, in my opinion, with a Greek chronography, no

¹⁷⁹ P.J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek*, Washington D.C., 1967.

¹⁸⁰ See E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen. Pseudomethodius, Adso und die Tiburtinische Sibylle*, Halle, 1898 (repr. Turin, 1963), pp. 115–187.

¹⁸¹ See above, p. xviii.

¹⁸² See P.F. Beatrice, "Le livre d'Hystaspe aux mains des Chrétiens", pp. 378 f.

¹⁸³ *Liber Scholiorum* II (ed. by Addai Scher in CSCO 66, Parisii-Lipsiae, 1912, pp. 74 ff.; repr. in CSCO 69, Louvain, 1960).

¹⁸⁴ J. Bidez – F. Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, II, fr. S 15, pp. 126–129.

¹⁸⁵ R. Hespel et R. Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni. Livre des Scolies (recension de Séert, II. Mimrē VI–XI* (CSCO 432, Syri 188), Lovanii, 1982, pp. 52 f.

longer in existence, which was translated into Latin in Merovingian Gaul. This version has been preserved only in the very old codex **E'** *Paris. lat. B.N.* 4884 of the seventh/eighth century (= E'). In 1606 Joseph Justus Scaliger published the *editio princeps*,¹⁸⁶ and for this reason the work is currently known as *Barbarus Scaligeri*.¹⁸⁷ Subsequently, the text was republished with the title *Excerpta Latina Barbari* by Alfred Schoene in the *Appendix* VI of his edition of Eusebius' *Chronica*,¹⁸⁸ and by Karl Frick for the Teubner collection.¹⁸⁹

Some years later, Adolf Bauer demonstrated that the initial pages of the *Excerpta Barbari*, from the creation of Adam until the Διαμερισμός τῆς γῆς, that is, the division of the earth among the three sons of Noah and their descendants after the flood (*Chron.* I,1,1–II,7,7), are the almost literal translation of an anonymous Greek fragment of the **H'** codex *Matrit. gr.* 4701 (olim N–121; tenth/eleventh century) (= H'), fol. 51r–63v, entitled Συναγωγή χρόνων καὶ ἐτῶν ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἕως τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας. Bauer thought that this fragment was an integral part of the *Chronicle* of Hippolytus.¹⁹⁰ This means that the author of the *Theosophy* included, in the final world chronicle, a long section of Hippolytus' *Chronicle* without mentioning his name. Whatever the value of this attribution, which is not the object of this investigation, Bauer's important discovery justifies the publication of the Greek fragment of the codex *Matritensis* in the corresponding place of the Latin text of the *Excerpta Barbari*.

Another section of this new edition of the *Excerpta Barbari* is printed in Greek. In fact, besides the long fragment of the *Chronicle* of Hippolytus, the author of the *Theosophy* also incorporated some sentences taken directly from the *Birth of Mary*, the so-called *Protevangelium of James* (*Chron.* VIII,3,6–17). These sentences can now be read in their original Greek wording in the critical edition by Émile de Strycker.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ See J.J. Scaliger, *Thesaurus temporum*, Leiden, 1606 (repr. Osnabrück 1968), t. I, pars II, pp. 44–70.

¹⁸⁷ See *CPG*, III, n. 5539.

¹⁸⁸ A. Schoene, *Eusebii Chronicorum libri duo*, I, Berolini, 1875, *App.* VI (pp. 173–239).

¹⁸⁹ C. Frick, *Chronica Minora*, vol. I, Lipsiae, 1892, pp. 184–371 (with a Greek retranslation).

¹⁹⁰ A. Bauer, *Die Chronik des Hippolytos im Matritensis Graecus 121* (TU, N.F. XIV,1), Leipzig, 1905. I have used the edition by A. Bauer – R. Helm, *Hippolytus Werke*, IV: *Die Chronik* (GCS 36), Leipzig, 1929; 2nd ed. in GCS 46, Berlin, 1955.

¹⁹¹ É. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques. Recherches sur le papyrus Bodmer 5 avec une édition critique du texte grec et une traduction annotée* (SHG 33), Bruxelles, 1961, pp. 10–13; 39 f.; 363 f.

13. *This edition*

This is all the material available today, on which it is possible to base an edition of the *Theosophy* that sufficiently respects the indications of the manuscript tradition. One can legitimately hope, and it is certainly to be wished, that new discoveries or new attributions, which are always possible, will enrich the picture I have sketched, giving it more precision. At this point though, its essential features ought not to undergo radical alterations.

After what I have said, I must inform the reader that this edition of the *Theosophy* cannot avoid resorting to a totally new numbering of the chapters and paragraphs with respect to the previous editions. Moreover, in the attempt to get as close as possible to the hypothetical original text, this edition avoids following up every slight detail of the destiny of the individual fragments, the manuscript transmission of which is extremely complex and widely contaminated.

Consequently, I have chosen not to follow Erbse's example in composing an all-inclusive *stemma codicum* for every oracle or paragraph of the text, because I believe that it would inevitably be too conjectural, and therefore of little use. For a work like the *Theosophy*, of which we possess only a few *membra disiecta*, fragments of various length, sometimes of dubious attribution and, furthermore, often *incertae sedis*, I have only at most been able to sketch out a rough history of its gradual "disintegration", in the following stages.

1) The *Theosophy* was composed in the years 502/503 A.D., as an appendix to the seven-book monophysite treatise *On the Right Faith*.

2) Its overall use in the Byzantine world was exclusively for purposes related to the *Heidenapologetik*, still very much alive from the sixth to the tenth century. These are the witnesses of the "apologetic" use of the *Theosophy*:

- a) the prologue of the *Sibylline Oracles*;
- b) the *Passio s. Artemii*;
- c) the *Passio s. Catharinae*;
- d) the *Symphony* of the Vatican codex (eighth/ninth century);
- e) the codex 170 of Photius' *Bibliotheca* (ninth century);
- f) the *Symphony* of the tenth-century codex of St. Mark's Library.

3) The final world chronicle was translated into Latin in the Merovingian period (seventh/eighth century).

4) A number of passages had wide diffusion in Syriac (but also in Coptic and Arabic), in the eastern Christian communities, between

the eighth and the fourteenth centuries. Among these translations, besides certain sayings of pagan sages, there are also traces of the prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl and of the messianic prophecy of Zoroaster to Hystaspes.

5) Some sections underwent gradual reworking, of a more or less fanciful nature, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, especially in Byzantine monasteries, with the consequent formation of the various collections of sayings of the seven sages.

6) The work was definitively dismembered between the eleventh and the fifteenth century, with the transformation of some fragments into texts with a life of their own. In this last phase of the manuscript tradition I place:

a) the Modena codex (tenth or eleventh/fourteenth century), the most important witness of the initial part of the theosophy of the Sibyls in Book III;

b) the three codices (the oldest of which, K, is of the twelfth century) containing the oracle of the so-called Tiburtine Sibyl;

c) the Strasbourg codex, dating back to the thirteenth/fourteenth century, which was destroyed in 1870. The contents of this manuscript are today partly accessible thanks to the transcription of the Tübingen codex: the anonymous Byzantine summary, the Preface and a few short passages from the first three books, at times rewritten and in open disagreement with the original text.

In the critical apparatus I have refrained from reproducing the numerous spelling variants which I believe are insignificant, or at any rate negligible, for the purpose of a plausible reconstruction of the text. I have recorded only the elements, the knowledge of which is really necessary for that purpose, and have indicated above all the places in which, after the most accurate checking, I feel that different readings should be adopted from those proposed by the previous editors. During this operation, several imperfections and inaccuracies found in their works have been tacitly corrected.

The same criterion of clarity and simplicity has also been adopted in compiling the apparatus of the sources and Biblical quotations. This is all to the advantage of the legibility and comprehension of the information thus placed at the reader's disposal.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

List of abbreviations

ACO	=	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum
ANRW	=	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
AThR	=	Anglican Theological Review
BNGJ	=	Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher
BSGRT	=	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
ByZ	=	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
BZNW	=	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CChr.SG	=	Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca
CH	=	Corpus Hermeticum
CPG	=	Clavis Patrum Graecorum
CRAI	=	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres
CSCO	=	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	=	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	=	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DCAH	=	Deltion tēs christianikēs archaiologikēs hetaireias
DOS	=	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DÖAW. PH	=	Denkschriften. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse
DSp	=	Dictionnaire de Spiritualité
EEChris	=	Encyclopedia of Early Christianity
EEChurch	=	Encyclopedia of the Early Church
EEPS	=	Epistēmōnikē epetēris tēs philosophikēs scholēs tou panepistēmiou Athēnōn
GCS	=	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
HAW	=	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
HLL	=	Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur
HThR	=	Harvard Theological Review
IJCT	=	International Journal of the Classical Tradition
JAC	=	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JAC ErgBd.	=	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum-Ergänzungsband
JECS	=	Journal of Early Christian Studies
JHS	=	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JThS	=	Journal of Theological Studies
KP	=	Der kleine Pauly
MB	=	Musée belge
OGIS	=	Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae
OLoP	=	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OrChrA	=	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OrChrP	=	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
PG	=	Patrologia Graeca
PO	=	Patrologia Orientalis
PRE	=	Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft
PTS	=	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC	=	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum

RB	=	Revue biblique
REA	=	Revue des études anciennes
RHE	=	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
RMP	=	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RQ	=	Römische Quartalschrift
SBA	=	Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft
SBL	=	Society of Biblical Literature
SC	=	Sources chrétiennes
SHG	=	Subsidia Hagiographica
SKG.G	=	Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft. Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse
StT	=	Studi e testi
TaS	=	Texts and Studies
TEG	=	Traditio Exegetica Graeca
ThH	=	Théologie historique
TRE	=	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
TU	=	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
VigChr	=	Vigiliae Christianae
VigChrS	=	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae
WSt	=	Wiener Studien
WUNT	=	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZKG	=	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZNW	=	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZPE	=	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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NOMINA PHILOLOGORUM IN APPARATU LAUDATORUM

Alexander
Alexandre
Bauer (A. Bauer)
J.B. Bauer
Beatrice
Bentley
Bidez
Brandt
Bratke
Buresch
Burguière
Burkert
Castalio
Cumont
Daley
Delatte
Diels
Dindorf
Dübner
Elter
Erbse (1995)
Erbse diss. (1941)
Ferguson
Festugière
Frick
Geffcken
Gelzer
Hadot
Hall
Hartel
Helm

Holladay
Jacoby
Jaekel
Jones
Jugie
Kannicht
Kaufmann
Kern
Koerte
Kroll
Kurfess
Lewy
Maass
Maehler
Mai
Marcovich
Mendelssohn
Mitteis
Monat
Moraux
Mosshammer
Mras
Mullach
Nauck
Neumann
Nock
Pease
Piccolos
Pitra
Preger
Radt

Riedweg
Robert
Robinson
Routh
Rzach
Sackur
Scaliger
Schenkl
Scher
Schoene
Scott
Sedulius
Smith
Snell
Stadtmüller
Stephanus
Steuchus
Struve
Strycker de
Sylburg
Thierfelder
Youtie
Wachsmuth
Waddell
Wehrli
Wesseling
Wilamowitz
Windisch
Winiarczyk
Wolff

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM CODICUM ADHIBITORUM

A	=	Athen. B.N. gr. 2725 (suppl. 725), saec. XV/XVI
A'	=	Ambros. 569, saec. XVI (ed. Mai)
A''	=	Paris. gr. 451, saec. X
B	=	Neapol. Borb. II F 9, saec. XIV
B'	=	Oxon. Barocc. gr. 50, saec. XI
B''	=	Monac. 351, saec. XV
C	=	Cremon. 160, saec. XV
D	=	Mutinensis misc. gr. 126, saec. XI-XIV (olim III.D.7)
D'	=	Paris. gr. 467, saec. XVI
E	=	Matritensis gr. 115, saec. XV
E'	=	Paris. lat. B.N. 4884, saec. VIII (Excerpta Barbari)
F	=	Athen. B.N. gr. 1070 (olim 32), saec. XIII
F'	=	Laurent. pl. 55, 7, saec. XV
F''	=	Laurent. pl. 11, 17, saec. XV
H	=	Ambros. E 64 sup., saec. XV
H'	=	Matritensis gr. 4701 (olim N-121), saec. X-XI
K	=	Athous gr. 1527 (Karakallou 14), saec. XII
L	=	Laurent. pl. 32,16, saec. XIII
L'	=	Lips. Univ. 70, saec. XVI
L''	=	Paris. gr. 2850, saec. XV (a.D.1475)
M	=	Marcian. gr. 573, saec. IX-X
M'	=	Paris. gr. 2665, saec. XIV/V
M''	=	Marcian. class. XI cod.1, saec. XIV/XV
m	=	consensus codd. MF
N	=	Paris. gr. 400, saec. XIV
O	=	Paris. gr. 854, saec. XIII
O'	=	Ottobon. gr. 411, saec. XIV/XV
Ox	=	Barocc. gr. 182, saec. XI/XII (Ioannis Malalae Chronographia)
P	=	Paris. gr. suppl. 690, saec. XII
P'	=	Paris. gr. 1409, saec. XV
P''	=	Paris. gr. 1630, saec. XIV
Pers.	=	codices vaticani a Pitra usurpati
Ps. Iust., Mon. q	=	Paris. gr. 450, saec. XIV
Ps. Iust., Mon. s	=	Argent. gr. 9, saec. XIII/XIV (nunc deperditus)
Q	=	Vatican. gr. 1120, saec. XIV
Q'	=	Paris. gr. 1168, saec. XIII/XIV
Q''	=	Paris. gr. 396, saec. XIII
R	=	Paris. gr. 2851, saec. XV
S	=	Sinait. 327, saec. XV
S'	=	Scorialensis II Σ 7, saec. XV
T	=	Tubingensis Mb 27, saec. XVI
Th	=	Paris. gr. 1171, saec. X, ed. M. Jugie in PO 19, pp. 318-335
U	=	Paris. gr. 2315, saec. XV
V	=	Vat. Pal. gr. 141, saec. XIV
V'	=	Vindob. ph. gr. 110, vol. I, saec. XVI

- V^m = Vindob. th. gr. 153, saec. XIII/XIV
 v = consensus codicum BLV
 W = Vindob. gr. 178, saec. XV
 W⁷ = Vindob. hist. gr. 96, 6, saec. XV
 w¹ = Explanatio somnii, ed. Sackur, pp. 177 ssq.
 w² = versio Latina eiusdem operis ed. G. Waitz in MGH, Script. XXII, Hannoverae 1872, pp. 375 sq.
 w³ = versio Latina eiusdem operis in cod. Monac. lat. 17742, saec. XII
 w⁴ = versio Latina in cod. Chicago, Newberry Library, Ry. 6, ff. 198–202, saec. XII (olim Lambac. membr. LXXVII)
 w⁵ = versio Latina in eodem codice, ff. 220–224
 x = consensus codd. B et V
 Y = Paris. gr. 1336, saec. XI
 Z = Sinait. 383, saec. X/XI

 α = Angel. 43, saec. XIV
 β = Angel. 22, saec. XI
 λ = Ottobon. gr. 378, saec. XVI
 λ₁ = Vallicell. 137, fasc. 3, saec. XVII
 μ = Προφητεῖαι ἑπτὰ Ἑλλήνων σοφῶν περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 π = Προφητεῖαι τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν
 Σ = Συμφωνία, Vatican. gr. 2200, saec. VIII/IX, fol. 444–454
 Φ = redactio Orac. Sib. (consensus codd. S' W')
 χ = Χρησμοὶ καὶ θεολογίαι Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφων
 Ψ = redactio tertia Orac. Sib.
 Ω = redactio altera Orac. Sib.

COMPENDIA

AP III	=	E. Cougny, Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina
Art.	=	Kotter, Passio S. Artemii
Cath.	=	Viteau, Passio S. Catharinae
Cedr.	=	Cedrenus, Historiarum Compendium
CH	=	Corpus Hermeticum
Chron.	=	Chronicon Paschale
CSEL	=	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
FGrHist	=	Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker
MGH	=	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
OGIS	=	Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae
Orph. fr.	=	Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta
PCG	=	Kassel et Austin, Poetae Comici Graeci
schol.	=	Greene, Schol. Plat. Phaedr.
Su.	=	Suda
Suppl. Hell.	=	Lloyd-Jones et Parsons, Supplementum Hellenisticum
SVF	=	ab Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta
TrGF	=	Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta

add.	=	addidit	inf.	=	inferior
ampl.	=	amplificavit	ins.	=	inseruit
ap.	=	apud	iter.	=	iteravit
appr.	=	approbavit	lac.	=	lacuna
attr.	=	attribuit	lin.	=	linea
cett.	=	ceteri	mg.	=	in margine
codd.	=	codices	om.	=	omisit
coll.	=	collocavit	prop.	=	proposuit
conf.	=	confirmavit	rec.	=	recipit
coni.	=	coniecit	ref.	=	refert
cont.	=	contendit	rest.	=	restituit
corr.	=	correxuit	sec.	=	secundum
def.	=	defendit	secl.	=	seclusit
del.	=	delevit	sign.	=	signavit
dem.	=	demonstravit	sim.	=	similiter
edd.	=	editores	stat.	=	statuit
em.	=	emendavit	sup.	=	superior
exist.	=	existimavit	suppl.	=	supplevit
exp.	=	expunxit	susp.	=	suspensus est
expl.	=	explevit	tempt.	=	temptavit
incl.	=	inclusit	transp.	=	transposuit

[] quadratis uncis inclusi quae dubia aut interpolata videntur

< > obliquis uncis inclusi quae addenda videntur

†† crucibus inclusi quae corrupta sunt necdum sanari potuerunt

<***> lacuna in contextu verborum

TEXT

<ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ>

1. 'Ο τὸ βιβλίον συγγεγραφώς, ὅπερ ἐπιγέγραπται ΘΕΟΣΟΦΙΑ, διαλαμβάνει κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ προοίμιον, ὅτι συνέγραψε μὲν πρότερον ἑπτὰ βιβλία ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΘΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ· ἄρτι δὲ τὸ ὄγδοον καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς συγγράφει, 5
δεικνὺς τοὺς τε χρησμοὺς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰς λεγομένας θεολογίας τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις σοφῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Σιβυλλῶν ἐκείνων <τοὺς χρησμοὺς> τῷ σκοπῷ τῆς θείας γραφῆς συνάδοντας καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τὸ πάντων αἷτιον καὶ πρωτοστατοῦν, ποτὲ δὲ τὴν ἐν μιᾷ θεότητι παναγίαν τριάδα δηλοῦντας.

2. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ βιβλίῳ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πρὸς <τὰ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΘΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ> προσάγον τὸ ὄγδοον, καὶ τοῖς ἐφεξῆς δυσὶ χρησμῶν τοιούτων μέμνηται καὶ θεολογιῶν. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τετάρτῳ ἢ ἐνδεκάτῳ παράγει χρήσεις 10
'Υστάσπου τινὸς βασιλέως Περσῶν ἢ Χαλδαίων, εὐλαβεστάτου, φησί, γεγονότος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θείων μυστηρίων ἀποκάλυψιν δεξαμένου περὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἐνανθρωπήσεως· ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τοῦ τεύχους χρονικὸν συν- 15
τομώτατον τέθεικεν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τῶν Ζήνωνος χρόνων, ἐν ᾧ καὶ δι-
ισχυρίζεται μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἐξακισχιλιαστοῦ ἔτους γενήσεσθαι τὴν συντέλειαν.

3. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ γέγραπται, φησί, ὅτι χίλια ἔτη παρὰ <τῷ> κυρίῳ ὡς ἡμέρα μία (a), ἐν ἧς δὲ ἡμέραις ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον ποιήσας τῇ ἐβδόμῃ κατέπαυσε 20
(b), πάντως <χρῆ> μετὰ τὴν παρέλευσιν τῶν ἐξακισχιλίων ἐτῶν, ἅπερ ἀντὶ ἑξ ἡμερῶν λογίζεται, τὰ πάντα καταπαῦσαι. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ πεν-
τακισχιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ ἔτει ἐνανθρωπήσας, εἴτ' οὖν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν (c).

1-5. cod. T

a) Ps. 89,4; II Pt. 3,8

b) Gen. 2,2

c) I Io. 2,18.

1. ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ *planitatis causa inserui*: Χρησμοὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν T Buresch
1. 7 τοὺς χρησμοὺς *ins.* Buresch 2. 10-11 πρὸς [lac.1,5 cm] προάγοντα ὄγδοον T: πρὸς ὀρθὴν πίστιν προάγον τὸ ὄγδοον *em. et suppl.* Buresch, πρὸς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως προάγον τὸ ὄγδοον *fortasse olim fuisse coni.* Erbse || 12 ἐνδεκάτῳ *em.* Buresch: ἐνδεκάτῳ T || χρήσεις: *hoc verbum, quod Windisch in libello qui inscribitur 'Die Orakel des Hystaspes' (1929) 'oracula' seu 'raticinia' barbare vertit, 'excerpta' significare probavit* Beatrice, *'Le livre d'Hystaspe' (1999, pp. 361 sqq.* 3. 19 τῷ *ins.* Erbse || 21 χρῆ *ins.* Buresch

4. Μέμνηται δὲ καθεξῆς καὶ βιβλίων τινῶν παρεγγράπτων ἥτοι ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ 25
 τινὸς ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ καὶ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΛΗΨΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΧΡΑΝΤΟΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΗΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ.

5. ΘΕΟΣΟΦΙΑ δὲ τὸ βιβλίον ἐπέγραψεν, ἥ ὅτι παρὰ θεοῦ σοφισθεὶς ἠδυνήθη 30
 τὴν πραγματείαν ἐκθεῖναι ταύτην, ἥ ὅτι αὐτὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα περὶ τῆς τοῦ
 θεοῦ σοφίας διδάσκει, ἥ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας
 σοφισθῆναι ὥς αὐτὸς ἐν <τῷ> προοιμίῳ λέγει.

4. 26 διατάξεων *corr.* Neumann: διατάξεως T διαταγῶν *fortasse olim fuisse coni.*
 Erbse || 26–27 γεννήσεως κτλ.: *opere vulgo* ‘Protevangelium Iacobi’ *dicto auctor*
usus est; vide infra Chron. VIII, 3,6–17 5. 31 τῷ *addidi*

ΘΕΟΣΟΦΙΑ

<ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ>

1. Ἐν ἐμαυτῷ γάρ, φησί, γενόμενος πολλάκις τῆς θεοσοφίας τὸ ἄφθονον ἐνένησα, ὅτι ὡς ἐκ πηγῆς διαρκοῦς ὀχετεύουσα τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ εἰς Ἑλληνας ἤδη καὶ βαρβάρους προήλθεν, οὐδενὶ γε τῶν ἐθνῶν τῆς σωτηρίας βασκαίνουσα. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς δύνους ἀνθρώποις, φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων· καὶ ἡ Σοφία· ῥεῖδι δὲ πάντων, ὅτι πάντα σὰ ἐστὶ, δέσποτα φιλόψυχε, καὶ τὸ ἄφθαρτόν σου πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἐν πᾶσιν' (a). 5
2. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀποβάλλειν τὰς τῶν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ μαρτυρίας. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι τὸν θεὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φαινόμενον δι- λέγεσθαι, τὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐννοίας ἀνακινῶν ἐκείνους διδασκάλους τῷ πολλῷ ὄχλῳ παρέχεται. Ὡστε ὅστις ἀθετεῖ τὰς τοιαύτας μαρτυρίας, ἀθετεῖ καὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν [ἐπὶ] ταύτας κινήσαντα. 10
3. Ὅτι τινὲς ἐδόξασαν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα εἶναι καὶ Ἥλιον· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τὸν Ἥλιον Ὅσιριν ὠνόμασαν· μεθερμηνεύεται δὲ Ἑλληνικῇ διαλέκτῳ Ὅσιρις

1-6. cod. T

1. 5 Plat., Theaet. 151 d 1 3. 13-19 Diod., Bibl. I,11,1-3 (cf. Eus., P.E. I,9,1-3): Τοὺς δ' οὖν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀνθρώπους... ὑπολαβεῖν δύο θεοὺς αἰδίοις τε καὶ πρώτους, τὸν τε ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, ὧν τὸν μὲν Ὅσιριν, τὴν δὲ Ἴσιν ὀνομάσαι... Μεθερμηνευομένων γὰρ τούτων εἰς τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τῆς διαλέκτου τρόπον εἶναι τὸν μὲν Ὅσιριν πολυόφθαλμον, εἰκότως· πάντη γὰρ ἐπιβάλλοντα τὰς ἀκτίνας ὥσπερ ὀφθαλμοῖς πολλοῖς βλέπειν ἅπασαν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν... Τῶν δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήσι παλαιῶν μυθολόγων τινὲς τὸν Ὅσιριν Διόνυσον προσονομάζουσιν καὶ Σεῖριον παρωνύμως. Ὡν Εὐμόλπος μὲν ἐν τοῖς Βακχικοῖς ἐπὶ φησιν·

ἀστροφαῖ Διόνυσον ἐν ἀκτίνεσσι πυρῶπόν,
Ὅρφεὺς δὲ
τοῦνεκά μιν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον (fr. 237,3 Kern).

a) Sap. Sal., 11,26-12,1

1. ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ *planitatis causa inserui*

1. 2 τὸ ἄφθονον cf. Plat., Tim. 29 e 1 || 3 ἐκ πηγῆς κτλ. cf. Thdrt., Graec. aff. cur. VIII,2-3: Εὐπετές μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ μάλα ῥάδιον τῇ τῆς σοφίας πηγῇ κτλ. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐβουλήθη πέντε ἢ δέκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα ἢ ἑκατὸν ἢ δις τοσοῦτους τῶν σωτηρίων ἀπολαῦσαι ναμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ Ἑλληνας καὶ βαρβάρους κτλ. || 5 θεὸς γὰρ οὐδεὶς T: οὐδεὶς θεὸς Plat. || 6 πάντα om. Sap. Sal. || καὶ τὸ T: τὸ γὰρ Sap. Sal. 2. 8 ἀνδρῶν T: ἀνδρῶν em. Buresch || 10 ἐκείνους *malit* Erbse: ἐκείνας T 3. 13 Ὅτι τινὲς ἐδόξασαν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα εἶναι καὶ Ἥλιον: cf. Eus., P.E. III,15,3 || 13-14 τὸν ἥλιον Ὅσιριν *recte transp.* Erbse: τὸν Ὅσιριν ἥλιον T Buresch

ὁ πολυ<ό>φθαλμος ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντῃ ἐπιβάλλοντα τὸν ἥλιον τὰς ἀκτῖνας 15
ὥσπερ ὀφθαλμοῖς πολλοῖς πᾶσαν βλέπειν τὴν γῆν. Τινὲς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
καὶ Σ<ε>ίριον αὐτὸν παρωνύνως ὠνόμασαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Διόνυσον ὡς καὶ
Ὅρφεύς·

Τοῦνεκά μιν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον.

4. Ὅτι οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ ὕγρὸν Ὠκεάνην προσηγόρευσαν. Δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ ὄνομα 20
τροφὴν [ῆ] μητέρα.

5. Ὅτι Ἀριστόβουλος, ὁ ἐξ Ἑβραίων περιπατητικὸς φιλόσοφος, ἐπιστέλλων 25
Π<τ>ολεμαίῳ συνωμολόγησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς θεοσοφίας τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν
ὠρμῆσθαι· ὡς φανερόν γάρ ἐστιν, ὅτι κατηκολούθησεν ὁ Πλάτων τῇ καθ'
ἡμᾶς νομοθεσίᾳ καὶ δηλὸς ἐστὶ περιειργασμένος ἕκαστα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ·

6. Ὅτι Διόδωρος ὁ Σικελιώτης ἐν τριάκοντα, ὡς φησιν, ἔτεσι δι' ἀκρίβειαν
μαθήσεως τὰς Εὐρώπης καὶ Ἀσίας βιβλιοθήκας περιελθὼν καὶ τοὺς
ἀρχαίους ἀναγνοὺς μ' βιβλία συντέταχεν.

4. 20–21 Diod., Bibl. I,12,5 (cf. Eus., P.E. III,3,5): Τὸ δ' ὕγρὸν ὀνομάσαι
λέγουσι τοὺς παλαιούς Ὠκεάνην, ὃ μεθερμηνευόμενον μὲν εἶναι τροφήν μητέρα.
5. 24–25 Aristobulus fr. 3 ap. Eus., P.E. XIII,12,1 6. 26–28 Ps.Iust.,
Coh. 9,3: Καὶ ὁ ἐνδοξότατος δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν τῶν ιστοριογράφων, Διόδωρος ὁ
τὰς βιβλιοθήκας ἐπιτεμών, ἐν τριάκοντα ὅλοις ἔτεσιν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπην,
ὡς αὐτὸς γέγραπεν (cf. Diod., Bibl. I,4,1), διὰ πολλὴν ἀκρίβειαν περιελθὼν
καὶ αὐτόπτης τῶν πλείστων γεγονώς, τεσσαράκοντα ὅλα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ιστορίας
βιβλία γέγραπεν.

3. 15 πολύφθαλμος T: *em.* Buresch *cf.* Plut., De Is. Os. 10 || 17 σίριον T:
em. Erbse 4. 20 ὠκεάνην *scripsi duce* Wesseling: ὠκεανόν *ceit.* || 21 τροφήν
μητέρα *scripsi*: τροφήν ἢ μητέρα T Buresch Erbse τροφῆς μητέρα Mras || *de*
utraque coniectura vide Beatrice, 'Diodore de Sicile' (1998), pp. 233 sqq. 5. 23
πολεμαίῳ T: *suppl.* Buresch || θεοσοφίας T: φιλοσοφίας Eus. || 24 γάρ ἐστιν
om. Eus. || 25 δηλός T: φανερός Eus. 6. 28 συντέταχεν: συνέταγεν T:
συντέταγεν Buresch Erbse

⟨BIBAION A'⟩

ΧΡΗΣΜΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ)

1. "Οτι αἰτήσαντός τινος διδαχθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁποῖος ἂν τις εἴῃ ὁ πάντων ποιητής, ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἔχρησεν οὕτως·

Βαβαί, οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἦκεις <λόγων.>

5

Τὸν οὐρανοῦ τύραννον ἐκμαθεῖν θέλεις,

ὃν οὐδ' ἐγὼ κάτοιδα, πλὴν σέβω νόμῳ.

Λόγος γάρ ἐστι καὶ λόγου πατήρ γεγώς

τὸν οὐρανὸν διέταξε καὶ τὴν γῆν ὅλην.

"Οτι μὲν γὰρ ἔστι, φησί, καὶ ὅτι υἱὸν ἔχει λόγον, οἶδα καὶ εἰδὼς σέβω· 10
πηλίκος δὲ καὶ οἶος, ἀγνοῶ.

2. "Οτι Θεοφίλου τινὸς τοῦνομα τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐρωτήσαντος· 'σὺ εἰ θεὸς ἢ ἄλλος;', ἔχρησεν οὕτως·

"Ἐσθ', ὑπερουρανίου κύτεος καθύπερθε λελογχώς,

φλογμὸς ἀπειρέσιος, κινούμενος, ἄπλετος αἰὼν·

15

ἔστι δ' ἐνὶ μακάρεσσιν ἀμήχανος, εἰ μὴ ἑαυτὸν

βουλάς βουλευσῇσι πατὴρ μέγας, ὥς ἐσιδέσθαι.

5 "Ἐνθα μὲν οὕτ' αἰθήρ φέρει ἀστέρας ἀγλαοφεγγεῖς

οὔτε σεληναίη λιγυφεγγέτις αἰωρεῖται,

οὐ θεὸς ἀντιάει κατ' ἀταρπιτόν, οὐδ' ἐγὼ αὐτὸς

20

ἄκτισιν συνέχων ἐπικίδναμαι αἰθεροδινή·

'Ἀλλὰ πέλει πυρσοῖο θεὸς περιμήκετος αὐλῶν,

10 ἔρπων εἰλίγδην, ροιζούμενος, οὐ κεν ἐκείνου

1. cod. T

2. codd. Tv; cf. AP III 6, 140. αὐτοφνής—ἡμεῖς laudat Lact., Div. Inst. I,7,1

1-2. BIBAION A' ΧΡΗΣΜΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ *planitatis causa inserui*

1. 5 *lac. verbo λόγων expl.* Snell Erbse; *verbo* ἑποτέ Buresch 2. 12 ὅτι *om.* v || τοῦνομα *om.* LP || 14 ὑπερουρανίου T Buresch Robinson: ὑπὲρ οὐρανόυ Steuchus Piccolos Wolff Erbse || 16 ἔστι v: εἰσὶ T 'malim legere ἔστι' T mg. εἰσὶ Buresch Lewy || δ' v δὲ T || 17 ἐσιδέσθαι: ἐσιδ['] T || 18 ἔνθα μὲν: ἔνθα κεν L Piccolos ἔνθα κεν B ἐνθάκε Steuchus ἔνθα περ Wolff || οὕτ' *coni.* Piccolos: οὐδ' Tv || φέροι Piccolos || ἀγλαοφανεῖς T || 19 σεληναία Steuchus || 20 αὐτοῖς T || 21 συνέχων: συνεὼν *coni.* Wolff || 22 θεὸς T: θεοῦ v Piccolos Wolff Lewy || 23 οὐ κεν Buresch Erbse Robinson: οὐ μὲν Tv Piccolos Wolff

ἀψάμενος πυρὸς αἰθερίου δαίσειέ τις ἦτορ·
οὐ γὰρ ἔχει δαῖν, ἀζηχεῖ δ' ἐν μελεδηθμῷ
αἰὼν αἰώνεσσ' ἐπιμίγνυται ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ.

25

Αὐτοφυῆς, ἀδίδακτος, ἀμήτωρ, ἀστυφέλικτος,
15 οὕνομα μηδὲ λόγῳ χωρούμενος, ἐν πυρὶ ναίων,
τοῦτο θεός· μικρὰ δὲ θεοῦ μερίς ἄγγελοι ἡμεῖς.

3. Ὡς ἐστι, φησί, πῦρ ὑπεράνω τῆς κοιλότητος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διηνεκῶς 30
κινούμενον, ἅπειρον ὑπάρχον καὶ μηδὲ ταῖς οὐρανίαις δυνάμεσι θεωρητόν,
εἰ μὴ ἑαυτὸν ὁ πατὴρ παρασκευάσει ὀφθῆναι. Καὶ τῷ αἰθέρι δὲ καὶ τοῖς
ἀστράσι καὶ τῇ σελήνῃ καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις θεοῖς ἄγνωστός ἐστι ἡ ὁδὸς
τοῦ νοητοῦ πυρὸς καὶ ἐμοί, φησί, αὐτῷ τῷ Ἠλίῳ. Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ, φησί, πᾶσι
φοβερὸν ἐστὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ πῦρ, διότι ὁ μακρότατος αὐτοῦ αὐλών, εἴτ' οὖν ἡ 35
κατ' εὐθείαν ὀξεῖα ὁρμή, μετὰ συστροφῆς καὶ ἥχου γίνεται. Οὕτινος πυρὸς
ὁ ἀψάμενος οὐκέτι μερίσειε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν πρὸς τὰ αἰσθητά· οὐ γὰρ
ἔχει μερισμὸν ἐκεῖνο τὸ πῦρ, ἀλλ' αἰ ἀϊδίως τοῖς ἀϊδίοις ἐπιμίγνυται. Τὸ
δὲ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν τις δύναται. Τοῦτο οὖν, φησί, τὸ πῦρ ἀληθὺς
θεός, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐλαχίστη δύναμις ἀγγελικὴ ὑπάρχομεν. 40

4. Τὰ δὲ ἀκόλουθα καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ χρησμῷ διεξήλθεν, εἰπὼν οὕτως·

Ἔσθ' ὑπερουρανίου πυρὸς ἄφθιτος αἰθομένη φλόξ,
ζωογόνος, πάντων πηγὴ, πάντων δὲ καὶ ἀρχή,
ἦτε φύει μάλα πάντα φύουσά τε πάντ' ἀναλύει.

Πάντα μὲν φύει τὰ καλὰ δημιουργικῶς, πάντα δὲ τὰ φαῦλα προνοητικῶς 45
ἀναλίσκει.

5. Ὅτι ἐρωτήσαντός ποτε τοῦ ἱερέως τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα περὶ τῆς μελλούσης
κρατεῖν θρησκείας, παράδοξον εἶπε χρησμὸν τοιοῦτον ὅστις εὔρηται ἐν

3. cod. T

4. codd. Tv; cf. AP III 6, 148

5. Totum oraculum codd. MF (= m) continent; excerpta oraculi accedunt
in variis aliis codicibus quorum praecipui sunt Σ χ Cath. P E Tv Art.; cf.
AP III 6, 149

2. 24 δαίσειέ τις Piccolos δαίσειέ τις Steuchus Wolff || 25 δαίειν Piccolos
Wolff || μελεδησμῷ B μελεθμῷ C F' || 26 αἰώνεσσ' T αἰῶσιν v Piccolos
Wolff || 28 χωρούμενος; χωρούμενον Sedulius Steuchus Wolff || μηδὲ λόγῳ
χωρούμενος: μὴ χωρῶν, πολυάνυμος *Oenoandae inscriptio* (cf. Hall) || 29 μικρὰ
δὲ θεοῦ μερίς T: μικρὴ δὲ μερίς θεοῦ v Piccolos μικρὴ δὲ θεοῦ μερίς Wolff
3. 32 παρασκευάση Buresch || 37 οὐκέτι T: οὐ κεν *vel* οὐκ ἂν Buresch
4. 41 δὲ om. T || 42 ὑπερουρανίου TLP Piccolos Buresch Robinson: ὑπὲρ
οὐρανόω Wolff Erbse: πάντ' ἄφθιτος T: ἀφθίτου v Piccolos Wolff || 44 ἡ τε
Piccolos || πάντ' ἀναλύει Buresch Erbse: πάντ' ἀναλίσκει Tv *praelet* x (πάντ'
ἀνάση B πάντ' ἀνάση V) πάντ' ἀναλύσει Wolff 5. 47-48 Ὅτι ἐρωτήσαντός
ποτε- χρησμὸν τοιοῦτον T; *introductionem aliam oraculi praebent* PF: Ὅτι ὁ
ψευδάνυμος τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεὸς Ἀπόλλων ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ (πυνθανομένου αὐτοῦ
P) τινος τῶν αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ P) ἱερέων (ιερείων F) περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χρησμὸν
ἔφησε τόνδε (ἔφησεν· ἔχει δὲ ὧδε P). *Refert* M: τὸν χρησμὸν... ὃν λέγεται
πεποιηκέναι πρὸς τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ ἱερέων (μιαιρέων M), πυνθανόμενον αὐτοῦ
(ποιθομένου αὐτὸν M) περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ ψευδάνυμος τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεὸς
Ἀπόλλων || 48 ὅστις εὔρηται M: ὅς καὶ εὔρηται F εὔρηται δὲ P

Δελφοῖς εἰκὸς τῷ πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Ἀναστασίου, μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ
 ιη', ἰνδικτιῶνος δ', ἡμέρα α', γενομένης ἐπομβρίας μεγάλης κατακλυσμοῦ 50
 δύναμιν ἐχούσης, ἐγγεγραμμένος ἐν πλακὶ καὶ ἀποκείμενος εἰς τὰ θεμέλια
 τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰδωλείου·

Μὴ ὄφελος πύματόν με καὶ ὕστατον ἐξερέεσθαι,
 δύσμορ' ἐμῶν προπόλων, περὶ θεσπεσίῳ θεοῖο
 ἀμφὶ τε τηλυγέτοιο πανομφαίου βασιλῆος 55
 καὶ πνοιῆς τῆς πάντα πέριξ βοτρυδὸν ἐχούσης,
 5 τείρεα φῶς ποταμοὺς χθόνα Τάρταρον ἥερα καὶ πῦρ,
 ἥ με καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα δόμων ἀπὸ τῶνδε διώκει·
 αὐτίκ', ἐρημαῖος δὲ λελείπεται οὐδὸς ἀφήτωρ.
 Ἦδε <τ> ἐμοὶ τριπόδων ἐπιλείπεται ἡριγένεια. 60

Εἶτα ἐμπαθῶς ἀνοιμῶζας ἐπήγαγεν·

Αἱ αἱ ἐμοὶ, τρίποδες, στοναχήσατε· ἐμπεπύρισμαι
 10 καὶ τοῦδ' οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐλήλαμαι δόμου, οἶχετ' Ἀπόλλων,
 οἶχετ', ἐπεὶ βροτὸς εἷς με βιάζεται, οὐράνιος φῶς.

49 *post* Δελφοῖς *add.* M: τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης *et* PF: τῆς Ἰταλίας || 49–50 εἰκὸς
 τῷ πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Ἀναστασίου, μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ ιη', ἰνδικτιῶνος
 δ', ἡμέρα α' *scripsi*: εἰκὸς τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει M κα' *et* F εἰκαστὸν πρώτον ἔτος
 P || *post* Ἀναστασίου *add.* M: μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ ιη', ἰνδικτιῶνος δ', ἡμέρα β'
 || 51 ἐν πλακὶ καὶ ἀποκείμενος *om.* F || τὰ θεμέλια MP: τὸ θεμέλιον F ||
 52 ναοῦ τοῦ M: *om. cett.* || εἰδωλείου Erbse: εἰδωλίου M εἰδώλου FP || ἔχει
 δὲ ὁ χρησμός οὕτως *in codicibus* MF *ante initium oraculi posita sunt* || 53 μ' *ante*
 ὄφελος *om.* MT || με MT: τε FP || ἐξερέεσθαι m Dübner: αὐτὸς ἐρέσθαι
 Tv Piccolos || 54 δύσμορ' ἐμῶν m Dübner: δύστηνε Tv Piccolos Wolff
 Buresch Erbse || θεσπεσίῳ θεοῖο m Dübner: θεσπεσίῳ γενετήρῳ Tv ||
 55 ἀμφὶ τε τηλυγέτοιο πανομφαίου βασιλῆος Tv: *om.* m Art. τηλυγέτου Piccolos
 || 56 τῆς – ἐχούσης m Dübner Wolff: ἥ – εἷσχει Tv Piccolos Buresch Erbse
 || βοτρυηδόν M || 57 *versum om.* V τείρεα φῶς m Dübner: οὔρεα γῆν Tv
 Piccolos Buresch Erbse τείρεα γῆν Wolff || *post* φῶς: καὶ νάματα, ἥερα καὶ
 φλογέν πῦρ Dübner || χθόνα M: καὶ FP Art. ἄλλα T Piccolos Wolff Buresch
 Erbse || 58 διώκει MFP Dübner: διώζει T Steuchus Piccolos Wolff Buresch
 Erbse || 59 αὐτίκ', ἐρημαῖος δὲ λελείπεται (λελήψεται T) οὐδὸς ἀφήτωρ T
 Piccolos Wolff Buresch Erbse: *om.* m || *versus post* ἀφήτωρ *om.* Steuchus ||
 60 ἦδε—ἡριγένεια *om.* T: ἦδε ἐμοὶ Daley οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ M ἡ δὲ <τ> *add.* Erbse
 ἐμῇ FP δὲ *om.* Art. || ἐπιλείπεται Buresch Erbse: ἔτι λείπεται Daley λείπετε
 M λείπετο FP Art. Delatte || 61 εἶτα ἐμπαθῶς ἀνοιμῶζας ἐπέγαγεν T Buresch
 Erbse περιπαθῶς v Piccolos Wolff || 62 αἱ αἱ ἐμοὶ M Daley: αἱ αἱ με FP
 Art. Delatte οἶμοι ἐγὼ T Buresch οἶμοι ἐμοὶ Piccolos Erbse οἱ μοὶ μοι Wolff
 || στοναχήσατε T Buresch Erbse: στοναχήσατε v Dübner Piccolos Wolff ||
 62–63 ἐμπεπύρισμαι καὶ τόνδ' οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐλήλαμαι δόμου Σ: *om. cett.* || 64
 οἶχεται ἐπὶ ἐρωτός Σ || βροτὸς εἷς με Σ: βροτόεις M Daley με βροτός FP
 βροτός με Art. γε βροτός με *sup.* Erbse με *om.* F T φλογέεις Tv Piccolos
 Buresch Erbse φλογέν Wolff || οὐράνιον φῶς Wolff φῶς τριλαμπές E

- Καὶ ὁ παθὼν θεὸς ἐστὶν ἄλλ' οὐ θεότης πάθεν αὐτή. 65
 Ἄμφω γὰρ βροτὸς ἦεν ὁμῶς καὶ ἄμβροτος αὐτός,
 ἀθάνατος θνητός τε, θεοῦ λόγος, ἀνδρομέη σάρξ,
 15 οὐ μεταμειβομένων οὔτ' ἐς χύσιν ἄμφω ἰόντων
 οὔθ' ἐκάς ἀλλήλων· αὐτὸς θεὸς ἦδὲ καὶ ἀνὴρ,
 πάντα φέρων παρὰ πατρός, ἔχων δὲ τε μητρὸς ἅπαντα, 70
 ἀθανάτου παρὰ πατρός ἔχων φυσίζοον ἀλκήν,
 μητρὸς δ' ἐκ θνητῆς σταυρὸν τάφον ὕβριν ἀνίην,
 20 πάντα θ' ἅμ' εἰσορόων τε καὶ ἀμφιθέων καὶ ἀκούων.
 Τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ποτ' ἐχεύατο δάκρυα θερμά,
 εὐτέ μιν ἀγγελίῃ λυγρῇ μόλεν οἶο φίλοιο. 75
 Αὐτὸς καὶ θρήνων πρόφασιν λῦσεν, ἐκ τοῦ Ἄιδου
 ἀνέρα τὸν θρήνησε παλίσσυστον ἐς φάος ἔλκων·
 25 ὡς βροτὸς ἐθρήνησε καὶ ὡς θεὸς ἐξεσάωσεν.
 πέντε τε χιλιάδας πυρῶν ἐκ πέντ' ἐκόρεσσαν
 οὖρεσιν ἐν ταναοῖσι· τὸ γὰρ θέλεν ἄμβροτος ἀλκή.
 Χριστὸς ἐμὸς θεὸς ἐστίν, ὃς ἐν ξύλῳ ἐξετανύσθη,
 ὃς θάνεν, ὃς τάφον ἦλθεν, ὃς ἐκ τάφου ἐς πόλον ὤρτο. 80

6. Οὐκ ὀφειλές με, φησί, ὦ ἀθλιώτατε τῶν νεοκόρων, τὴν ἐσχάτην ταύτην

6. cod. T

5. 65 καὶ ὁ: ὁ δὲ Cath. || ἄλλ' οὐ θεότης Σ: καὶ οὐ θεότης *cett.* || αὐτὴ *om.*
 PQ' || 66 ἄμφω—αὐτός *om.* F || βροτὸς ἦεν ὁμῶς MP Erbse Daley: βροτόσωμος
 Cath. B'ZE ἔρωτος αμα Σ || ἄμβροτος P Erbse Daley: ἄβροτος M ἀέρωτος
 Σ || 66-67 αὐτός, ἀθάνατος—λόγος *om.* Σ, χ, Cath. || 67 ἀνδρομέη m Delatte
 Erbse Daley: ἀνδρομένη P || 68 οὐ μεταμειβομένων Σ: οὔτε ἀμειβομένων mP
 || χύσιν m Delatte Erbse Daley: σχίσιν Cath. Buresch || ἄμφω ἰόντων:
 ἰόντων ἄμφω Σ || 69 οὔθ' ἐκάς: τουτι καδδ' Σ || ἦδὲ καὶ m: ἦε καὶ P ἦδη
 καὶ Σχ Cath. || 70 ἔχων *om.* Σ || 71 ἀθανάτου M Daley: ἀθάνατος FP
 Buresch Delatte Erbse *om.* Σχ Cath. || ἔχων: μὲν ἔχει Σ Cath. || φυσίζων
 Σ || *versus post* ἀλκήν *om.* P || 72 δ' ἐκ Σ Cath. M: δὲ Fχ || θνητῆς: χθονίης
 PQ' || σταυρὸν- ἀνίην: ὕβριν πόνον ἀνίην Σ || 73 πάντα θ' ἅμ' *coni.* Erbse:
versum om. Σχ Cath. ἅμα M Daley: ἅμ' P || 74 τοῦ: ὅς Cath. || 75-78 εὐτέ
 μιν—ἐξεσάωσεν: ἡνικα ἀγγελλε φίλοιο θλιψιν μετ' ἐκ δημῶν εσεσθαι σφας
 αὐτοὺς Σ || 76-78 αὐτὸς—ἐξεσάωσε *om.* P: *olim in diss. del., nunc recte rec.*
 Erbse || 76 λῦσεν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰδου F Buresch Delatte Daley: τῆδου M λῶσ' ἐξ
 Ἀΐδαο Erbse || 77 ἐς F Buresch Delatte Erbse: εἰς M Daley || ἔλκων
 Buresch Erbse: ἔλκει F Delatte Daley: || 78 ἐξεσάωσεν M: ἐξεσάωσε F ||
 79 πέντε τε F: ὃς πέντε χ Cath. τε *om.* M πέντε καὶ Erbse προσαν καὶ Σ ||
 ἐκ πέντ' *om.* Cath. || ἐκόρεσσαν F: ἐκόρεσαν M κόρεσαν Cath. κορέσατο PQ'
 κορέσαι B'ZS || 80 οὖρεσιν *om.* Σ || ἐν ταναοῖσι: ἐναναλῶσεν Σ || ἄμβρο-
 τος: ἄμφωτος Σ || ἀλκήν PQ' ἄλκει B' ἔλκει S || 81 Χριστὸς—ἐστίν *om.* Σ
 ἐμὸς θεὸς χM: θεὸς ἐμὸς FCath. || ἐν ξύλῳ Cath. Erbse: ἐς ξύλον m ||
 τανύσθη Σ χ || 82 ὃς τάφον ἦλθεν *om.* χCath. ὃς τάφῳ Σ || τάφου m: ταφῆς
 Σ B'ZS Cath. || ὤρτο: ἄλτο Σ πολλῶν ὄλβον χ

ἐρώτησιν ἐρωτῆσαι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς καὶ ἀγαπητοῦ
 υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πάσης θείας φήμης καὶ κληδόνος αἰτίου (ὁμῆ γὰρ ἡ θεία 85
 κληδὼν καὶ προαγόρευσις, ἡ τὸ ὄν φαίνουσα) καὶ περὶ τοῦ παναγίου
 πνεύματος τοῦ πάντα κύκλοθεν δίκην βότρυος περιέχοντος· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ
 πνεῦμα καὶ μὴ βουλόμενόν με πόρρω τῶν οἴκων τούτων διώξει. Καὶ
 παραυτίκα ἔρημος καταλειφθήσεται ἡ φλιά τοῦ μαντείου ἡ ἀφιείσα καὶ
 πέμπουσα πρὸς τὰ ἐντὸς τοὺς μαντεύεσθαι βουλομένους. Φεῦ φεῦ, ἐμοὶ 90
 τρίποδες μαντικοί, στενάξατε· ἀπόλλυμαι γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ἀπόλλυμαι,
 ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατελθὼν καὶ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος, νοητὸν πῦρ
 ὑπάρχων, βιάζεται καὶ διώκει με.

7. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἀγίου εὐαγγελίου.

Καὶ οἱ ἐνοχλούμενοι ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐθεραπεύοντο, καὶ πᾶς ὁ 95
 ὄχλος ἐζήτουν ἄπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ, ὅτι δύναμις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο καὶ ἰατο
 πάντας (a).

8. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον ἀγίου εὐαγγελίου.

Καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν
 οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν καὶ κατέκλασεν τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς 100
 ἵνα παρατιθῶσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας ἐμέρισεν πᾶσιν. Καὶ ἔφαγον
 πάντες καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν, καὶ ἦσαν κλάσματα δώδεκα κοφίνων πληρώματα
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων. Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ φαγόντες τοὺς ἄρτους πεντακισχίλιοι
 ἄνδρες (b).

9. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἀγίου εὐαγγελίου.

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λέγει αὐτοῖς, Λάζαρος ὁ φίλος ἡμῶν κεκοίμηται· ἀλλὰ 105
 πορεύομαι ἵνα ἐξυπνίσω αὐτόν (c).

Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα·

Ἰησοῦς οὖν ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὴν κλαίουσαν καὶ τοὺς συνελθόντας αὐτῇ
 Ἰουδαίους κλαίοντας, ἐταράχθη τῷ πνεύματι ὡς ἐμβριμώμενος, καὶ εἶπεν· 110
 Ποῦ θεεῖκατε αὐτόν; Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε. Ἐδάκρυσεν
 ὁ Ἰησοῦς (d).

7-14. cod. Σ

a) Lc. 6,18-19

b) Mc. 6,41-44

c) Io. 11,11

d) Io. 11,33-35

6. 89 καταληφθήσεται T em. Buresch || φλιά Buresch Erbse: φιλιά T ||
 90 ἐμοὶ Buresch Erbse: ἐμαὶ T

10. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἀγίου εὐαγγελίου.

Καὶ ὅτε ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Κρανίον, ἐκεῖ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν (e).

115

Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα·

ἽΟ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν· Πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν (f).

11. Ἐκ τῆς α' καθολικῆς ἐπιστολῆς Πέτρου τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου.

Ποῖον γὰρ κλέος εἰ ἁμαρτάνοντες καὶ κολαφιζόμενοι ὑπομενεῖτε; ἀλλ' εἰ ἀγαθοποιῶντες καὶ πάσχοντες ὑπομενεῖτε, τοῦτο χάρις παρὰ θεῷ. Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκλήθητε, ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἴχνυσιν αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὗρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, ὃς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδορεῖ πάσχων οὐκ ἠπείλει, παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως· ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν, οὐ τῷ μῶλωπι ἰάθημεν (g).

120

125

12. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίου.

Τότε διήνοιξεν αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ συνιέναι τὰς γραφὰς· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὕτως γέγραπται καὶ οὕτως ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ κηρυχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ μετάνοιαν εἰς ἅφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (h).

130

13. Ἐκ τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων.

Ὡς δὲ ἐτέλεσαν πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα, καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἔθηκαν εἰς μνημεῖον. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ὃς ὤφθη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλείους τοῖς συναναβᾶσιν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ (i).

135

14. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον ἀγίου εὐαγγελίου.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν κύριος Ἰησοῦς μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἀνελήμφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ (j).

140

15. Καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ χρησμῷ περὶ τοῦ αἰὲ ὄντος θεοῦ λέγων καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συνομολογῶν ἀπώλειάν φησιν·

15-23. codd. Tv

e) Lc. 23,33

f) Lc. 23,34

g) I Pt. 2,20-24

h) Lc. 24,45-47

i) Act. 13,29-31

j) Mc. 16,19

15. Cf. AP III 6, 150 || 142 ὁμολογῶν v Wolff

Ἦν Ζεὺς ἔστι τε νῦν Ζεὺς κέσσεται· ὦ μέγαλε Ζεῦ,
οἳ οἱ μοι χρησμῶν ὑπολείπεται ἡριγένεια.

16. Ὅτι ὅτε τὸ Βυζάντιον ὤκησεν ὁ Βύζας, ζηλοτυπήσας ὁ Αἴμος (Αἰμιμόντου 145
δὲ ἦν ἄρχων, οὗ καὶ ὅρος ἐπώνυμόν ἐστι) καὶ νομίσας, εἰ προκαταλάβοι
ἀνθρώπους ἔτι νεοκαταστάτους, νικήσειν τοὺς Βυζαντίους πέμπει τῶν
οἰκείων τινὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐρωτῶν, εἰ περιγενήσεται Βύζαντος.
Ἐχρησεν οὖν ὁ Ἀπόλλων οὕτως·

Ἄγρεο καὶ παλίνορσος ἐπείγρο καὶ λέγε ταῦτα· 150
οὐ σέ γε Φοῖβος ἄνωγεν ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχεσθαι·
κείνου γὰρ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐὼν ὑπερέσχεθε χεῖρα,
ὄν καὶ γῆ τρομέει καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθεν
πόντος τ' ἡέλιός τ' ἡδ' ἡέριον χάος αὐτό·

17. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀπόλλων. Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ θαυμάζω τὴν ἄνωθεν 155
περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πρόνοιαν, καὶ ὅπως αἰεὶ σύνηθες αὐτῷ, διὰ τὴν πρόγνωσιν,
ἣν ἔχει, προλαμβάνειν ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν εὐσεβεῖν μέλλον-
τας· ἐπεὶ γὰρ εὐδελον ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ μέλλον καὶ ὥς ἤδη παρὸν ἡπίσ-
τατο τοῦτο καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐγίνωσκεν, ὅτι οἱ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην οἰκήσαντες
ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὸν θρησκεύουσιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἐκείνου παθεῖν αὐτοὺς κακὸν 160
συνεχώρησεν.

18. Ὅτι ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ Ἀπόλλων, τί θεός, ἐξεῖπεν οὕτως·

Αὐτοφανής, ἀλόχευτος, ἀσώματος ἡδέ τ' ἄυλος.
Κεῖθεν δ' ἐκ σέλα εἰσι πέριξ σφαιρηδὸν Ὀλύμπου.
Ἐνθεν δ' ἀπὸ τυττῆ διααίδεται αἰθέρος ἀυγή, 165

15. 143 κέσσεται v (*praeler* L Steuchus) Erbse: κ' ἔσεται L Steuchus Piccolos
Wolff Buresch καὶ ἔσεται T || 144 οἳ οἱ μοι Steuchus Buresch Erbse: οἷη
μοι v Piccolos Wolff οἷη μοι T **16.** Cf. AP III 6, 144 et Hesych., Orig.
Constant. 17, pp. 7-8 Preger || 145 ὤκησεν BV || 145-146 αἰμίμου τοῦ
δρυμοῦ ἄρχων L Piccolos αἰμιμόντου τοῦ δρυμοῦ Wolff || 148 ἐρωτῶν L
Piccolos || εἰ περιγενήσεται: περὶ γενησίαν L γενεσίαν Piccolos || θεοῦ (pro
τοῦ) Βύζαντος B || 150 ἄγρεο PQ' T Buresch Erbse ἔγρεο v Steuchus Piccolos
Wolff || 152 κείνου: κείνῳ Steuchus || ὑπερέσχεθε: ὑπερέσχετο Steuchus ||
153 ὄν καὶ γῆ: ὄν πᾶσα γῆ β || 154 πόντος—αὐτό *om.* β **17.** 155-161
ἐγὼ δὲ—συνεχώρησεν T; *breuius* v: τοῦτο δὲ τῆς προνοίας ἦν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ
μέλλον ὥς παρὸν γινωσκούσης· ἥδει γὰρ ὥς οἱ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην οἰκήσοντες
ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὸν θρησκεύουσι (θρησκεύουσι BLM")· διὸ καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς
κακὸν παθεῖν συνεχώρησεν || *textum dissimilem praebe* β: Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῷ
Αἴμῳ ὁ χρησμὸς προηγόρευσεν· ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἄνωθεν περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον τοῦ θεοῦ
θαυμάζω πρόνοιαν, ὅπως αἰεὶ σύνηθες τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ θεῷ, διὰ τὴν πρόγνωσιν
ἣν ἔχει προλαμβάνειν αἰεὶ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν εὐσεβεῖν μέλλοντας,
ὥς καὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς εἰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλ' ὅμως τῷ Βυζαντίῳ
λυσιστελεῖσιν μέλλοντας ἀναδίδωσθαι. **18.** Cf. AP III 6, 151 || 162 ὅτι
ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ Ἀπόλλων T: ὁ (*om.* P') αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς v || τί T: τίς v ||
ἐξεῖπεν: εἶπεν B || 164 ἐκ σέλα κτλ.: ἐξελάων σὲ περὶξ σφαιρηδόν, Ὀλύμπον
Steuchus

ἡέλιον, μήνην καὶ τείρεα φωτίζουσα.

- 5 Ταῦτ' ἐδάην ἔμαθόν τε νόω, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σιωπῶ
Φοῖβος ἐών· σὺ δὲ παῦε τὰ μὴ θέμις ἐξερεεῖν
χεῖνεκα σῆς φυσικῆς σοφίης τάδ' ὑπέρτερα νωμῶν.

19. "Οτι Ποπλᾶ τινι τοῦνομα ἐρωτήσαντι, εἰ συμφέρει περὶ χρημάτων εἰς 170
φιλοτιμίας πέμψαι πρὸς βασιλέα, ἀπεκρίνατο οὕτως·

Καὶ τότε σοι δρᾶσαι πολὺ συμφέρον εὐμενίῃσι
λισσομένῳ Ζηνὸς πανδερκέος ἄφθιτον ὄμμα,
ἐκ δὲ πάτρης στεῖλαι γαίης βασιληίδος ἄστν
ἐξεσίην σπέρχοντα κλυτὴν πρεσβήϊδα πίστιν. 175

20. "Οτι ἄλλοτε λυπουμενῷ τῷ Ποπλᾶ ὥς καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐναντιου-
μένων αὐτῷ καὶ οὐσίαις μειουμένης καὶ τοῦ σώματος οὐκ εὖ ἔχοντος καὶ
μαθεῖν ζητοῦντι, παρ' οὗ ἂν δυνηθεῖ βοηθείας τυχεῖν, ἔχρησεν οὕτως·

Ἰλάσκου Ζηνὸς βιοδώτορος ἀγλαὸν ὄμμα.

21. "Οτι Στρατονίκῳ τινὶ ὄναρ ἰδόντι περὶ τῶν τῆς ἰδίας ζωῆς ἐτῶν καὶ 180
πυθομένῳ, εἰ χρὴ πιστεῦσαι, οὕτως ἀνεῖλεν·

Εἰσέτι σοι δολιχὸς νέμεται χρόνος, ἀλλὰ σεβάζου
ζωοδότου Διὸς ὄμμα θυηπολίας ἀγανῆσιν.

22. "Οτι ὁ Σάραπισ τῷ περὶ σοφίας ἐρωτήσαντι οὕτως ἀπεκρίνατο·

"Οσσον ἐέλδονται χρυσοῦ πολυτιμέος ἄνδρες, 185
τόσσον μαντοσύνης ποθέεις τέλος. Ἀλλὰ τόδ' ἴσθι·
θᾶττόν τοι θνητοῖσι κόρος χρυσοῖο παρέσται,
ἢ σοφίης τέλος εὐρὺ καταζητῶν ἐσαθρήσεις.

- 5 Τόσση ἀπειρεσίῃ τέταται βασιλῆος ἐπ' οὐδῶ
ἀθανάτου· κείνος δὲ διδοῖ καὶ δῶρον ὁπάξει. 190

18. 168 τὰ μὴ θέμις: οὓς μὴ θέμις Steuchus || 169 χεῖνεκα Erbse: χ' εἵνεκα Tv Steuchus Piccolos (*praeter* χᾶνεκα B Wolff) || φυσικῆς om. L Piccolos || νωμῶν Steuchus 19. Cf. AP III 6, 152 || 170 Ποπλᾶ Wolff Buresch Erbse Πόπλα LT Piccolos Πόπλα B || 171 φιλοτιμίας LT Piccolos Robert Robinson: φιλοτιμίαν BV Wolff Buresch Erbse || οὕτως om. T || 173 λισσομένῳ et ἄφθιτον T || πανδορκέος BV || 175 σπέρχοντα Tv (*sed* παρέχοντα B Wolff) Buresch: σπεύδοντα Erbse 20. Cf. AP III 6, 153 || 176 Πέπλα B || 177 τοῦ σώματος om. B || 178 ζητοῦντι LB Wolff Buresch Erbse: ζητοῦντος T || ἂν om. L Piccolos περὶ ὧν ἂν B || βοηθειαν L || 179 ἀγλαὸν L Buresch Erbse: ἀγλαον T ἱερὸν B 21. Cf. AP III 6, 154 || 180 ὄναρ LT Buresch Erbse: ὄνειρα B || τῶν et ἐτῶν om. BV || 182 εἰσέτι conl. Piccolos Wolff Robert Robinson: εἰς ἔτι T Buresch Erbse || 183 θυηπολίας em. Erbse: θυηπολίας Tv Piccolos Wolff Buresch Robinson || ἀγανῆσιν v Piccolos Wolff Erbse: ἀγαναίσιν T Buresch Robinson 22. Cf. AP III 6, 184 || 184 Σέραπισ Piccolos || 185 ἄνδρες v ἀ[T 'fort. ἄνδρες' Tmg. || 186 μανθοσύνης B || 187 τοι conl. Nauck conf. T: τοῖς LB Piccolos Wolff || 189 ἀπειρεσίῃ Erbse: ἀπείρητος Tv Steuchus Piccolos Wolff ἀπειρέσιος conl. Nauck || τέταται: σοφίη Steuchus || 190 καὶ δῶρον: κῶδος BV

23. "Οτι τῶν καθαρῶς αἰτούντων ἀκούει θεός· ὥς καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἔχρησεν οὕτως·

Εἷ γέ τις ἰλάσσαιτο θεὸν μέγαν ἡδὲ παράσχοι
σῶμ' ἀγνόν, τοῦδ' ἔκλυε καὶ οἱ κάρτ' ἐπένευσεν.

24. "Οτι Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ τῆς ΕΚ ΛΟΓΙΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ 195
αὐτοῦ παρατίθεται χρησμόν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀθανάτου ἔχοντα οὕτως·

Ἀθανάτων ἄρρητε πατήρ, αἰώνιε, μύστα,
κόσμων ἀμφιδρόμων ἐποχούμενε, δέσποτα, νῶτοις
αἰθερίοις, ἀλκῆς ἵνα σοι μένος ἐστήρικται
πάντ' ἐπιδερκομένῳ καὶ ἀκούοντ' οὔασι καλοῖς,
5 κλῦθι τῶν παίδων, οὓς ἤρσας αὐτὸς ἐν ὥραις·
σὴ γὰρ ὑπὲρ κόσμον τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα
χρυσῇ ὑπέρεκται πολλῇ αἰώνιος ἀλκή·
ἥς ὑπὲρ ἠώρησαι, ὀρίνων φωτὶ σεαυτόν,
ἀενάοις ὀχετοῖσι τιθηνῶν νοῦν ἀτάλαντον,
10 ὅς ῥα κύει τόδε πᾶν τεχνώμενος ἄφθιτον ὕλην,
ἥς γένεσις δεδόκηται, ὅτι σφε τύποισιν ἔδσας.
Ἐνθεν ἐπεισρέουσιν γοναὶ ἀγίων μὲν ἀνάκτων
ἀμφὶ σέ, παντόκρατορ βασιλεύτατε καὶ μόνε θνητῶν
ἀθανάτων τε πάτερ μακάρων. Αἱ δ' εἰσὶν ἄτερθεν
15 ἐκ σέο μὲν γεγαῶσαι, ὑπ' ἀγγελίῃσι δ' ἕκαστα
πρεσβυγενεὶ διάγουσι νόῳ καὶ κάρτεϊ τῷ σῷ.

200

205

210

24. 197–215 Porph., De phil. ex orac. haur., fr. 325, pp. 373–374 Smith;
cf. pp. 144–145 Wolff

23. Cf. AP III 6, 185 || 191 ὅτι T: ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ LB Piccolos Wolff ||
καθαρῶν v Wolff || ὥς καὶ Ἀπόλλων *om.* v || 193 ἰλάσαιτο L || 194 ἀγνόν
Dübner Erbse: ἀγαθὸν *cett.* || ἐπένευσεν *em.* Buresch: ἐπένεσεν T ἐπένευσα
C F' M" 24. 195 ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ: ἐκ τοῦ δεκάτου A' Mai; *sim.* Steuchus:
decimo libro εὐλογίων φιλοσοφίας || 197 ἀθανάτε τε A' ἀθανάτε Steuchus
|| 198 κόσμον M" || 199 αἰθέριος CF' αἰθερίης V || μένος Buresch Erbse
Smith: μέρος T || 201 ἤρσας Buresch Erbse Smith: ἤρσας T || 202 σὴ:
σοὶ A' || 204 ἥς ὑπὲρ T Buresch Erbse Smith: ἡ ὑπὲρ v ὑπὲρ A' Steuchus
|| ἠώρησαι Buresch Erbse Smith: ἡαώρησαι T αἰώρησας A' ἠώρησας Steuchus
ὑπερῴρησαι Wolff Mullach || 205 τιθηνῶν Tv A' Mai Wolff Lewy Erbse:
τιταίνων Buresch (*hanc coniecturam olim Erbse in diss. probavit*) Smith || 206
τεχνώμενος T Steuchus Buresch Erbse Smith: τεχνούμενος B τεκνούμενος L
Wolff τεκνόμενος A' Mai || 207 ἥς Wolff Buresch Erbse Smith: ἦν Tv A'
ἡ Mai || γένεσιν BV || δεδόκηται *om.* B (ἥς γενέτης *vel* γενετὴρ δεδόκησαι
coni. Buresch) || 208 ἐπεισρέουσιν M" L Buresch Erbse Smith: ἐπεισρέουσι
BP'TV ἐπειωρεῖουσι CF' ἐπιστροφόωσι A' ἐπειστρέουσιν Steuchus || ἀνάκ-
των: ἀγγέλων B || 209 παντόκρατορ A'LT Buresch Erbse Smith: παντοπά-
τορ *cett.* et T *mg.* || βασιλεύτατε v Steuchus: βασιλεῦ τε A' Mai βασιλέστατε
T Buresch Erbse Smith || μόνον V || 211 γεγαῶσαι A' Steuchus T Buresch
Erbse Smith: γεγαῖαι *cett.* || ἀγγελίῃσι Erbse: ἀγγελίασι T Buresch Smith

Πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ τρίτον ἄλλο γένος ποιήσας ἀνάκτων
οἷ σε κατ' ἡμαρ ἄγουσιν ἀνυμνεῖοντες ἀοιδαῖς
βουλόμενόν ῥ' ἐθέλοντες, ἀοιδιάουσι δ' ἐσῶδε.

215

25. Ὅτι τρεῖς τάξεις ἀγγέλων ὁ χρησμὸς οὗτος δηλοῖ· τῶν αἰεὶ τῷ θεῷ
παρεστώτων, τῶν χωριζομένων αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς ἀγγελίας καὶ διακονίας τινὰς
ἀποστελλομένων, καὶ τῶν φερόντων αἰεὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ θρόνον. Τοῦτο ὅϊ σε
κατ' ἡμαρ ἄγουσι· τουτέστι διηνεκῶς φέρουσι· τὸ δὲ ἀοιδιάουσιν δ' ἐσῶδε·
ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄδουσιν ἕως νῦν.

220

26. Εἴτα ἐπάγει ὁ χρησμὸς τάδε·

Τύνη δ' ἐσσι πατὴρ καὶ μητέρος ἀγλαὸν εἶδος
καὶ τεκέων τέρεν ἄνθος, ἐν εἵδεσιν εἶδος ὑπάρχων
καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ ἁρμονίη καὶ ἀριθμὸς.

Δηλοῖ δὲ διὰ τούτων, ὅτι καὶ πατὴρ καὶ μητὴρ φιλοστοργίαν ἐνδείκνυ-
ται περὶ ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὅτι συγκαταβαίνει διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν· καὶ γίνεται
καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὥσει θεοῦ τέκνον ἥτοι δημιούργημα.

225

27. Ὅτι <***> κατὰ τὸν Πορφύριον τοιονδε χρησμὸν ἐξήνεγκε·

Νοῦν τεὸν εἰς βασιλῆα θεὸν τρέπε, μηδ' ἐπὶ γαίης
πνεύμασι μικροτέροισιν ὁμίλει· τοῦτό σοι εἶπον.

230

28. Ὅτι ὁ Ἑρμῆς, οὐχ ὁ τρισμέγιστος, ἀλλ' ὁ λόγιος καλούμενος θεὸς
χρησμὸν εἶπε τοιοῦτον·

Εἷς θεὸς οὐράνιος γενέτης, γαῖαν διατάσσω,
οὐράνιον τε πόλον κατέχων δίνας τε θαλάσσης·
κείνῳ πάντα τέλει τε καὶ ἰλάσκου φρένα κείνου.

235

27-38. cod. T

26. 222-224 Porph., De phil. ex orac. haur., fr. 325, p. 374 Smith; cf. pp. 146-147 Wolff et AP III 6, 216 27. 229-230 Porph., De phil. ex orac. haur., fr. 325 a, p. 375 Smith

24. 214 κατ' ἡμαρ v A' Mai: καθ' ἡμαρ T Steuchus Buresch Erbse Smith
|| σε κατ': ῥ' ἐκάς *coni.* Wolff || ἄγουσιν ἀνυμνεῖοντες: ἄδουσιν κἀνθυμνεῖοντες
A' Mai || 215 ἀοιδιάουσι: ἀοιδιάσουσι B αἰεὶ διάγουσι A' Mai || ἐσῶδε: ἐς
ὧπα A' Mai ἐς ὧδε Steuchus 25. 216 ἀγγέλων—δηλοῖ: ὁ χρησμὸς ἀγγέλων
δηλοῖ BV || τῶν: καὶ L Wolff || 217 καὶ *ante* εἰς ἀγγελίας *om.* V || τινὰς
T Buresch Erbse: *om.* v Smith || 218-219 τοῦτο—φέρουσι *om.* v || 219 δ'
ante ἐσῶδε *om.* TV 26. 221 τάδε v (*om.* B) Erbse Smith: ταῦτα T Buresch
|| 222 Τύνη Buresch: ὤνη T γυνὴ C F' || 227 ὥσει T: ὥσανεῖ v Smith ||
τέκνον: τόκον L 27. 228 *lac. in cod.* T [1 cm] ('deest nomen proprium
dativi casus' T mg.) *verbis* τῷ δεῖνα *expl.* Buresch 28. 234 δίνας T: *em.*
Buresch || 235 φρένα κείνου Buresch Erbse: φρενὶ κείνον T

29. "Οτι <ό> αὐτὸς Ἑρμῆς ἐξομνύμενος περὶ τινος πράγματος ἔφη οὕτως·
 Νῆ θεόν, ὃς κρατέει, τόν γ' οὐ προφέρειν ἐνὶ θνητοῖς
 δεῖ μάκαρας, ἦν μὴ τι θεὸν κατὰ σῶμα βῆται.

"Ο δὲ λέγει, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· ὅτι ἡμᾶς τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι μακαρίους ἦτοι
 τοὺς δαίμονας, οὐ δεῖ κηρύττειν τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, εἰ μὴ 240
 ἄρα <αὐτὸς> σωματωθεὶς βιάσεται ἡμᾶς θεὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογήσαι.

30. "Οτι πυθομένῳ τινί, ποῦ τὸν ἄρρητον θεραπεύσει θεόν, ὁ Ἀπόλλων
 δεικνύς, ὡς πᾶς τόπος τῆς αὐτοῦ δεσποτείας ἐστὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ τοὺς
 εὐσεβοῦντας ἀποδέχεται, ἔχρησεν οὕτως·

Ζηνὸς πᾶσα πόλις, πάντ' οὔρεα, πᾶσα θάλασσα, 245
 πάντῃ δ' ἀνθρώποις νεύει <πάντῃ> τε γέγαθεν
 εὐσεβέων θνητῶν ὁσίαις τιμαῖσι καὶ ἔργοις.

31. "Οτι οἱ λεγόμενοι θεοὶ τιμὴν ἑαυτοῖς μνῶμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις
 παρενεύοντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ὁμολογοῦσι ταῖς βουλαῖς τοῦ ἀορά-
 του θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων εὐσεβοῦσιν ἀκολουθεῖν· διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων 250
 ἔχρησεν οὕτως·

Εὐσεβέσιν μερόπεσιν ὀτρήμονές ἐσμεν ἀρωγοί,
 οἱ λάχομεν περὶ κόσμον ἀλήμονα ναιέμεν αἰεὶ·
 ῥίμφα δ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι πονειομένοισι περῶμεν
 πειθόμενοι πατρὸς ἡμετέρου πολυαρκέσι βουλαῖς. 255

32. "Οτι ὁ Ἀπόλλων δηλῶν, ὡς πάντα τοῦ ἀθανάτου θεοῦ ἐξήρηται καὶ
 αὐτῷ μόνῳ δεῖ προσανέχειν, ἔχρησεν οὕτως·

Πάντα θεοῦ μέγαλοιο νόου ὑπὸ νεύμασι κεῖται·
 ἀρχὴ πηγὴ τε ζωῆς καὶ ὑπεύροχον εὐχος
 καὶ κράτος ἡδὲ βίη καὶ ἰσχύος ἄφθιτος ἀλκή 260
 καὶ δύναμις κρατερὴ καὶ ἀμφιελικτὸς ἀνάγκη·
 εὖχεο τοιγάρτοι μακάρων βασιλῆι μεγίστῳ.

33. "Οτι ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρενεύρων ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἔχρησε ταῦτα·

"Αρτι μὲν ἀστερόεντα κατ' οὐρανὸν ἱππότις Ἡὸς
 ἔλκει νύκτα μέλαιναν· ἐπειγόμενος δὲ κελαινῆς 265
 μητρὸς ὑπ' ἀγκοῖνῃσι θέει μεροπῆιος Ὑπνος.
 Καὶ μακάρων σύμπας στρατὸς ἄπλετος ἀμφὶ μέγιστον

29. 236 ὁ *ins.* Buresch || 237 ἐνὶ Buresch: ἐν T || 238 βῆται T: *em.*
 Buresch || 241 αὐτὸς *ins.* Buresch 30. 242 'Lege ποῦ' T mg.: πῶς T
 || 246 *post* νεύει *lac.* T [2 cm]: 'fort. deest ἀγαθοῖς aut aliud tale' T mg.
 πάντῃ *coni.* Buresch Robinson 32. Cf. Didym., De Trin. III,21 || 260-261
 ἰσχύος *et* ἀμφιελικτὸς *em.* Erbse: ἰσχυος *et* ἀμφιελικτος T Buresch Robinson
 || 262 εὖχεο—μεγίστῳ *em.* Did. 33. 264 ἱππότις *em.* Buresch: ἱππότης T

- 5 πρῶτον ὁμοῦ μάλα πάντες ἀλλήλες ἐστηῶτες
διζόμεθ', ὥς κόσμοιο θεμείλιον αὐξήσωμεν.

34. "Οτι πυθομένου τινὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πότερον μένει ἢ ψυχὴ μετὰ 270
θάνατον ἢ διαλύεται, ἐπεκρίθη οὕτως·

Ψυχὴ, μέχρι μὲν οὐ δεσμοῖς πρὸς σῶμα κρατεῖται
φθαρτόν, ἐοῦς' ἀπαθὴς ταῖς τοῦδ' ἀλγηδόσιν εἴκει·
ἡνίκα δ' αὖτε λύσιν βροτέην μετὰ σῶμα μαρανθὲν
ὠκίστην εὔρητ', εἰς αἰθέρα πᾶσα φορεῖται 275

- 5 αἰὲν ἀγήραος οὔσα, μένει δ' ἐς πάμπαν ἀτειρήs.
Τοῦτο δὲ πρωτογόνος θεία διέταξε πρόνοια.

35. "Οτι πυθομένου τινός, εἴ γε εἷς ὁ ἄρρητος θεός, ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἀπόλλων
οὕτως·

Εἷς ἐν παντὶ πέλει κόσμῳ θεός, ὃς κύκλα δίνης 280
οὐρανίης θεσμοῖσιν ὀρίσσατο καὶ διέκρινεν
ῥαῖς καὶ καιροῖς ἰσοζυγέοντα τάλαντα,
νεύμας ἀλληλοῦχα τροπαῖς φιλοτήσια δεσμά·

- 5 ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσι, δι' ὃν βιοτήσιος αἰὼν, 285
Ζῆνα δὲ παγγενέτην, ταμὴν ζωαρκέα πνοιῆs,
αὐτὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐόντα καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς εἷς ἐν ἰόντα.

36. "Οτι ἐρωτήσαντός τινος τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, εἰ ἔστιν ἕτερος θεός μερίζονα
παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ἐξουσίαν, ἀπεκρίνατο οὕτως·

"Εστι θεῶν μακάρων ὑπατος θεός, ὃς χθόνα πᾶσαν 290
ἀμφὶς ἔχει καὶ κύμα θ' ἁλὸς καὶ ἀπείριτον οἶδμα
ὠκεανοῦ· πάντῃ δὲ κικλήσκεται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς.
Τῷ γὰρ ὑπεΐκουσιν μάκαρες, τὸν χρὴ λιτανεύειν.

37. "Οτι ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐρωτήσαντός τινος, ποῖον ἕκαστος τῶν νόθων θεῶν
ἔλαχεν ἔργον, ἀπεκρίνατο οὕτως·

Ἀθανάτοισιν ἅπασιν ἔχειν διενεῖματο τιμὰς 295
ὑψιμέδων γενέτης· Φοῖβῳ μαντηγόρον ὁμφὴν
καὶ Διοῖ καρποὺς καὶ Παλλάδι πίαρ ἐλαίης
καὶ Βάκχῳ γλευκηρὸν ἀναζέον ἄνθος ὁπώρης

34. Cf. Lact., Div. Inst. VII,13,5 || 270 τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος *em.* Robinson: τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα *cell.* || 272 μέχρι μὲν T Erbse: μὲν μέχρις Lact. || 273 φθαρτόν—τοῦδ' T: φθαρτὰ νοοῦσα πάθη θνηταῖς Lact. || 274 αὖτε λύσιν T: ἀνάλυσιν *edd. Lactantii* || βροτέην T Lact. Sedulius Wolff: βρότεον Buresch Erbse Robinson || 275 εὔρητ' εἰς: εὔρηται ἐς Lact. || 277 τοῦτο δὲ πρωτογόνος T: πρωτογόνος γὰρ τοῦτο Lact. || θεία T: θεοῦ *coni.* Wolff **35.** 286 ἐν αὐτῷ Buresch Erbse: εἰς αὐτὸν T **36.** 292 ὑπεΐκουσιν *corr.* Buresch: ὑπὲρκουσι T **37.** 296 μαντηγόρον *em.* Buresch: μαντήγορι T || 297 Διοῖ *em.* Neumann: Διὶ T

- 5 παρθενίου τε γάμοιο νεοζυγέων θ' ὑμεναίων
κοιρανέειν φιλότητος ἀμωμήτη γ' Ἀφροδίτη. 300

38. Ὅτι ἐρωτήσαντός τινος τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, εἰ μόνος ὁ ὕψιστός ἐστιν
ἀναρχος καὶ ἀτελεύτητος, ἀπεκρίνατο οὕτως·

- Αὐτὸς ἄναξ πάντων, αὐτόσπορος, αὐτογένεθλος,
ἰθύνων τὰ ἅπαντα σὺν ἀφράσῳ τινὶ τέχνῃ,
οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβαλὼν, πετάσας χθόνα, πόντον ἐλάσας, 305
μίξας ὕδατι πῦρ χθόνα τ' ἡέρι καὶ πυρὶ γαίαν,
5 χεῖμα, θέρος, φθινόπωρον, ἔαρ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀμείβων
εἰς φάος ἦγεν ἅπαντα καὶ ἀρμονίοις πόρε μέτροις.

39. Ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα, εἰ ἀμαρτάνων τις λανθάνει θεόν, εἶπεν ὁ
Ἀπόλλων· 310

Οὐδεὶς ἂν λήθῃ τοῖος θεόν, οὐδὲ σοφοῖσι
κέρδεσιν οὐδὲ λόγῳσιν ὑπεκφύγοι ἄλκιμον ὄμμα.
Πάντα θεοῦ πλήρη, πάντῃ θεὸς ἐστεφάνωται,
πάντα ζωογονῶν, ὅποσα πνεῖει τε καὶ ἔρπει.

40. Ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα, εἰ δι' ἐπιμελείας βίου δύναται γενέσθαι 315
θεοῦ ἐγγύς, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων·

- Ἰσόθεον δίζῃ γέρας εὐρέμεν· οὐ σοὶ ἐφικτόν.
Αἰγύπτου τόδε μῦθος ἔλεν γέρας αἰνετὸς Ἑρμῆς,
Ἑβραίων Μωσῆς καὶ Μαζακέων σοφὸς ἀνὴρ,
ὃν ποτε δὴ χθὼν θρέψεν ἀριγνώτοιο Τυήνης· 320
5 θνητοῖς γὰρ χαλεπὸν φύσιν ἄμβροτον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν
εἰσιδέειν, ἦν μὴ τις ἔχῃ σύνθημα θέειον.

41. Ὅτι ἐν Ὁμβοῖς, τῷ φρουρίῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Θηβαίδος, ἦν χρησμός
γεγραμμένος τοιοῦτος·

39. codd. Tv; cf. AP III 6, 155

40-44. cod. T

38. 304 ἅπαντα T: 'leg. ἕκαστα' T mg. || 305 ἐλάσας: ἐλάσας T Erbse
|| 308 ἦγεν T: 'in antigr. εἶχεν' T mg. || μέτροις T: 'ex coniectura poni-
tur' T mg. 39. 309 τις om. T || λανθάνει: 'in antigr. lectio certa non
ponitur' T mg. || τὸν θεόν BL Wolff || ὁ (ante Ἀπόλλων) TBV: om. L
Piccolos || 311 τοῖος v Steuchus Piccolos Wolff Buresch Erbse: μερόπων T
(et hoc ex coniectura' T mg.) || 314 ζωογονέων T 40. 319 Μαζακέων
em. Erbse: μαζακίων T Buresch τῶν καππαδοκῶν T mg. || ἀνὴρ T Ἀπολλώνιος
mg. || 320 Τυήνης em. Scott-Ferguson Erbse Jones: Τυήνας T Buresch Τυάνης
Robinson 41. 323 Ὁμβοῖς scripsi: ὄμβραις T ὄμβροις Buresch Scott-
Ferguson Erbse || τῆς Αἰγύπτου Θηβαίδος scripsi: τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Θημαίδος
T Θηβαίδος em. Buresch τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Θηβαίδος Scott-Ferguson Erbse

Τὸν λόγον υἷα θεοῖο θεόν τε λόγον καλέουσι,
καὶ θεότης κοινή τις ἐν υἷῳ καὶ γενετῇρι.

325

42. "Οτι ἐν <Κοπ> τῷ, τῇ πόλει Αἰγύπτου, ὁ χρησμός οὗτος ἦν γεγραμμένος
καὶ ἀποκρίσεως καὶ ἐρωτήσεως·

‘Οὐρανὸς αὐτολόχευτος; ἐμ’ <ἦλ> ιε τοῦτο δίδαξον.’
‘<Οὐκ>, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ἔτευξε λόγος, λόγον υἷα φυτεύσας·

330

οἱ δύο δ’ αὖ εἰς εἰσι, πατήρ καὶ κύδιμος υἱός.’

‘Ἀλλὰ μοι ἔννεπε τοῦτο· τίς ἐς χθόνα διὰν ἰκάνων

5 ἄρρητον σοφίην βροτέην ἐδίδαξε γενέθλην;’

‘Ἐκ προθύρων γενετῆρος, ἀπ’ οὐρανίων κορυφάν,

υἱὸς ὅλην κόσμησε βροτῶν πολυτειρέα φύτλην,

335

καὶ μιν ἐοῦσ’ ἄχραντος ἀπειρήτη θ’ ὕμεναιων

παρθενικῇ ἐλόχευσε πόνων ἄτερ Εἰλειθυίης.’

43. "Οτι ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ, τῇ πόλει Αἰγύπτου, χρησμός ἐγγράπτο τοι-
οῦτος·

Πνεῦμα θεόρρητον φυσίζοον εἰκόνα πατρός
ἀμφὶς ἔχει· γενετὴρ δ’ ἔλαχ’ υἱέα, παῖς δὲ τοκτῆ·
οἱ τρεῖς, οἱ δ’ αὖ εἰσι μία φύσις, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς.

340

44. Καὶ ἕτερος χρησμός τοιοῦτος·

Τὸν θεὸν αὐτογένεθλον αἰνᾶνον αὐδάξαντο
ἄνθρωποι, λόγον ἄγνον, ὅσοι σοφίην ἐδάξαν,
καὶ λόγον ἀγλαὸν υἷα πανομφαίῳ θεοῖο.

345

Πνεῦμα δ’ ἐν ἀμφοτέροισιν ἀκηράσιον ζαθέειον·

εἰσὶ δέ τις τριάς ἀγνή ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ἐόντες.

45. "Οτι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατὰ τὰς λεγομένας σύριγγας ἐγγράπτο χρησμός
τοιοῦτος Ἀντιόχου ἱερέως Ἡλιουπόλ<εως>·

350

42. 327 ἐν [lac. 8 mm] τῷ T *suppl.* Buresch ‘deest 1 syllaba proprii nominis’
T mg. || 328 καὶ ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις ἔχων *coni.* Scott-Ferguson || *ora-*
culi versus Buresch *inaniter transp. hoc ordine edens:* 1.4–7.2.3.8.9. || 329 ἐμ’
ἦλιε *dubitanter scripsi:* ἐμὲ [lac. 8 mm] γε (*vel* νε) T Erbse ἐμ’ οὐρανέ Buresch
σύ με κοίρανε *coni.* Scott-Ferguson || 330 οὐκ *add.* Erbse: μὲν *post* αὐτὸν *ins.*
Buresch || λόγος T Buresch Erbse: λόγῳ Scott-Ferguson || 333 ἄρρητον
Scott-Ferguson Erbse: ἄρρητος T Buresch || 336 μιν ἐοῦσ’ Buresch Erbse:
μιν ἔτ’ οὐσ’ T (ἔτι *antigr. omittit et scribit* καὶ μὴν. Quid si legam καὶ μιν
ἐοῦσ’ ἄχρ.’ T mg.) || 336–337 καὶ μιν ἐοῦσ’ ἄχραντος κτλ. *cf.* Epiph., Pan.
51,22,9–11: ταῦτη τῇ ὥρᾳ σήμερον ἡ Κόρη (τουτέστιν ἡ παρθένος) ἐγέννησε
τὸν Αἰῶνα || 337 Εἰλειθυίης *scripsi:* Εἰληθυίης T Buresch Erbse 44. 345
λόγον ἄγνον: λόγου ἄγνου ὅσοι σοφίην *templ.* Scott-Ferguson || 347 ζαθέειον
coniect: ζάθειον T Buresch Erbse 45. 349 τὰς λεγομένας σύριγγας *emendavi:* *cf.* Paus., Descr. I,42,3; Aelian., De nat. anim. VI,43 et XVI,15; OGIS
II, nn. 694, 720, 721; ὁ ἡνρέθη ἐν ταῖς σύριγγι ταῖς αἰγυπτίαις *optime* Σ
σήραγας T τοὺς λεγομένους Σηράγγας Buresch Scott-Ferguson Erbse *testi-*
monio Ptolemaei, Geogr. enarr. IV,6,17 *confisi* || 350 Ἀντιόχου ἱερέως ἡλιουπόλ
Σ: *suppl.* Pitra Scott-Ferguson Erbse Ἀντιόχου κολοφῶνος B’L’PQ’SZ Ἀντιμάχου
κολοφωνίου (*vel* ἐκ κολοφῶνος) Bentley

Ἦν νοῦς εἰς πάντων νοερώτερος, ἄφθιτος ἀρχή,
 τοῦδ' ἄπο παγγενέτης νοερός λόγος, ἄφθιτος αἰεὶ
 υἱός, ἀπαύγασμα νοεροῦ πατρός, εἰς ἅμα πατρί.
 Ἐν μὲν ἐπωνυμίῃ γε διεστηκώς ἀπὸ πατρός,
 εἰς δὲ πέλων σὺν πατρὶ καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς, μία τάξις,
 5 πατρός ἐὼν αἴγλης, ὁμοούσιος, ἄφθιτος αἰεὶ
 πνεύματι σὺν πρώτῳ ἀγίῳ καὶ σπέρματος ἀρχή.

355

46. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου.

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.
 Οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ
 ἐγένετο οὐδέν (k). 360

47. Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα·

Ὁ ἑωρακὼς ἐμὲ ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα (l).

Καὶ πάλιν·

Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἑσμεν (m). 365

Καὶ αὐθις·

Κάγῳ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐμοί (n).

48. Ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς.

Ὅς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, φέρων
 τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ (o). 370

46–48. cod. Σ

45. 351–357 Antiochus Heliopolitanus, auctor aliunde ignotus

k) Io. 1,1–3 l) Io. 14,9 m) Io. 10,30 n) Io. 14,10.11
 o) Hebr. 1,3

45. 351 ἦν νοῦς Σχ: Ἰννοῦς T *em.* Buresch *qui dubitanter prop.* εἰς νοῦς ||
 ἄφθιτος ἀρχή *om.* Σ: εἰ δέ γε ἔστιν χ || 352 νοερός ΣT Buresch Erbse:
 νοερώτερος χ || αἰεὶ *om.* Σχ || 353 ἀπαύγασμα Σχ: ἀπανυγὴ τοῦ T Buresch
 Erbse ἀπανυγασμός Bentley || 354 διεστηκώς ἀπὸ πατρός Σ Buresch Erbse:
 εἰ δέ γε ἔστιν ὡς ἀπὸ πατρός χ διεστώς ἀπὸ πατέρος T || 355 τάξις Σχ: δόξα
 T Buresch Erbse || 356–357 ἐὼν—ἀρχή Σ Erbse (ἐὼν αἴγλης *om.* χ): υἱοῦ
 καὶ πνεύματος ἄφθιτος αἰὲν ἐοῦσα T Buresch || 356 ὁμοούσιος *cf.* CH I,10:
 καὶ ἡνώθη τῷ δημιουργῷ Νῶ—ὁμοούσιος γὰρ ἦν. *De huius vocis origine, histo-*
ria et theologica significatione fusius ago in commentatione 'The Word Homoeousios from
Hellenism to Christianity', quae typis nondum est mandata

49. Θούλις ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς κατορθώμασιν ἡρώτησεν εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Σαράπιδος περὶ ἑαυτοῦ οὕτως· ‘Φράσον μοι, πυρισθενές, ἀψευδές, μάκαρ, ὁ τὸν αἰθέριον μετεγκλίνων δρόμον, τίς πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας ἡδυνήθη ὑποτάξαι τὰ πάντα ἢ τίς μετ’ ἐμέ;’ Καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ χρησμὸς οὗτος·

375

Πρῶτα θεός, μετέπειτα λόγος καὶ πνεῦμα σὺν αὐτοῖς·
ταῦτα δὲ σύμφυτα πάντα καὶ ἓν τε καὶ εἰς ἓν ἰόντα,
οὐ κράτος αἰώνιον·

ὡκέσι ποσὶ βάδιζε, θνητέ, ἄδηλον διανύων βίον.

50. <‘Ὁ δὲ Πετισσώνιος Φαραὼ βασιλεὺς εὐθέως ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῇ Μέμφει εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον τὸ περιβόητον· καὶ ποιήσας θυσίαν ἐπηρώτα τὴν Πυθίαν λέγων· ‘Σαφήνισόν μοι, τίς ἐστὶν πρῶτος ὑμῶν καὶ μέγας θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ;’ Καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ χρησμὸς οὗτος;’>

380

“Ἔστι κατ’ οὐρανοῖο μεγάλοιο βεβηκὸς φλογὸς ὑπερβάλλον αἴθριον ἀέναντον ἀθάνατον πῦρ, ὃ τρέμει πᾶν, οὐρανὸς γαίᾳ τε καὶ θάλασσα, ταρτάριοι τε βύθιοι δαίμονες ἐρρίγησαν. Οὗτος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοπάτωρ, ἀπάτωρ, πατήρ υἱὸς αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, τρισόλβιος. Εἰς μικρὸν δὲ μέρος ἀγγέλων ἡμεῖς. Μαθὼν ἅπιθι σιγῶν.

385

51. “Ὅτι ὁ Συριανὸς ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πονήμασιν ἀναφέρει χρησμὸν τοιοῦτον·

“Ἐν κράτος, εἰς δαίμων, γενέτης μέγας, ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων,
ἐν δὲ δέμας βασιλείων, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλοῦται,

390

51-53. cod. T

51. 390-401 Syriani fragmentum aut ex Συμφωνία Ὁρφέως Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος περὶ τὰ λόγια aut ex Εἰς τὴν Ὁρφέως θεολογίαν βιβλία β’ desumptum; cf. Orph. fr. 169 Kern

49. Fragmentum addubitatum: cf. Malalas II, p. 25 Dindorf || 372 Σαράπιδος em. Bentley: Εὐριπίδου B’ Εὐριπία S sed post τὸ μαντεῖον nullum divinitatis nomen ref. Ox, Chron., Cedr., Su. || περὶ αὐτοῦ B’ || πρᾶσόν μοι S || 372-373 πυρισθενές ἀψευδές B’ Chron Dindorf Erbse: πυρισθενή Ox πυρισθενή ἀψευδή Q’ || 374 post ἡδυνήθη: τὸ ταῦτα B’ τοσαῦτα Erbse || 376 μετέπειτα: ἔπειτα χ || 377 ταῦτα δὲ σύμφυτα πάντα Chron.: σύμφυτα δὲ πάντα Ox Cedr. Su. χ P’ σύμφυτα δὲ ταῦτα πάντα Y || ἓν τε καὶ dubitanter scripsit Erbse ἐν καὶ Y ἔντομον Chron. om. cell. || 379 ὡκέσι: ὡκύσι B’ S ὀρθοῖς Chron. || βάδιζε: βαδίζει B’ βαδίζειν S || θνητέ om. S || διανοιῶν S || βίον Ox Chron.: δρόμον χ **50.** Fragmentum addubitatum: cf. Malalas III, pp. 65-66 Dindorf || 380-383 ὁ δὲ Πετισσώνιος—οὗτος: haec verba vel similia e codice Ox addenda esse suspicatus sum; auctorem oraculi Solonem Atheniensem cont. χ et π, Chilonem μ || 380 Μέμφει Chron. Cedr.: Μέμφη Ox Dindorf || 384 ἔστι Cedr. Dindorf: ἔσται Ox Erbse || βεβηκὸς Cedr. Dindorf: βεβηκὼς Ox Erbse || αἴθριον Ox Cedr. Dindorf: αἰθέριον Y Erbse om. πχ || 385 ὁ Ox Dindorf: ὃν Erbse || πᾶν Ox Cedr. Dindorf Erbse: πᾶς Y om. πχ || 386 ταρτάριοι τε βύθιοι Ox Dindorf: ταρτάριοι βύθιοι τε Chron. Cedr. καὶ τάρταροι π Erbse om. χ || ἐρρίγησαν Chron. Cedr. Dindorf: ἐρίγησαν Ox ἐρράγησαν Y om. Erbse || 388 ἅπιθι Chron. Cedr. Dindorf: ἅπειθι Ox Y **51.** 390 γενέτης T: γένετο Clem. Eus. Procl. || 391 δέμας βασιλείων: τὰ πάντα τέτυκται Clem. || κυκλοῦται T: κυκλεῖται Clem. Eus. Procl.

- πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νόξ τε καὶ ἡμάρ
καὶ Μῆτις, πρώτη γενέτις, καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπής·
5 πάντα γὰρ ἐν Ζηνὸς μεγάλῳ τάδε σώματι κεῖται,
πάντα μόνος δὲ νοεῖ, πάντων προνοεῖ τε θεοῦδῶς· 395
πάντη δὲ Ζηνὸς καὶ ἐν ὄμμασι πατρὸς ἄνακτος
ναίουσ' ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι
θῆρές τ' οἰωνοὶ θ', ὅποσα πνεῖει τε καὶ ἔρπει.
10 Οὐδὲ ἔ' που λήθουσιν ἐφήμερα φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων,
ὅσσ' ἀδίκως ῥέζουσὶ περ, οὐδ' εἰν οὔρεσι θήρες 400
ἄγριοι, τετράποδες, λασιότριχες, ὀμβριμόθυμοι.

52. "Οτι ἡ Ἄρτεμις ὀλοφυρομένη πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῆς εἶπε τεμενίτην χρησμόν τοιοῦτον·

Παῖς Ἑβραῖος κέλεται με θεὸς μακάρεσσιν ἀνάσσων,
οὐρανόθεν καταβάς, βρότεον δέμας ἀμφιπολεύων, 405
δύμεναι εἰς Αἶδαο καὶ ἐς Χάος νῦν ἀφικέσθαι.
Κείνου δ' οὐκ ἔστιν τὸ δεδογμένον ἐξαλέασθαι.
Χάζομαι ὥς ἐθέλει· τί νυ μήσομαι, δαίμονες ἄλλοι;

53. "Οτι Ἰουδαίοις χρησμόν περὶ τῆς συντελείας αἰτήσασιν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἔχρησεν οὕτως· 410

ᾧ μέγ' ἀναιδέες, ᾧ κακοφράσμονες <ἄνδρες> ἀλιτροί·
τίπτε πρὸς ἡμέτερον δόμον ἤλθετε; πῶς κ' ἐμὸν οὔδας
ἀνθρώποις φθέγξαιθ', οἷς μὴ βίος ὀρθὸς ὁδεύει,
οἷ νόμον ἐκ προγόνων γεννήτορος ἡρνήσαντο;
τοῖσι δ' ἅπ' ἀντολίης κακὸν ἔρχεται ἀπροφάσιστον. 415

Vv. 1-5: cf. Eus., P.E. III,9,2; Stob., Ecl. I,1,23 = Orph. fr. 168, 6-10 Kern; vv.1-4: cf. Clem., Strom. V,14,128,3; Procl., In Plat. Tim. 28c; v.1: cf. Procl., In Plat. Tim. 31 a; v.4: cf. Procl., In Plat. Tim. 24d, 32c, 29a = Orph. fr. 170 Kern; v.5: cf. Procl., In Plat. Tim. 28c; vv. 7-8: cf. Procl., In Plat. Parm. IV, 959, 21 = Orph. fr. 169 Kern

51. 393 πρώτη γενέτις T (γένετις Kern): πρώτος γενέτωρ Eus. Procl. || 394 Ζηνὸς μεγάλῳ T ('fort. μεγέθει aut tale substantivum in dativo' T mg.): Ζηνὸς μεγάλου Procl. μεγάλῳ Ζηνὸς Eus. || σώματι Eus. Stob.: σώματα T || 395 πάντα T: 'in antigr. πάντα δὲ μόνος' Tmg. || προνοεῖ τε em. Buresch: προνοεῖται T || θεοῦδῶς T: 'in antigr. θεοδῶς' Tmg. || 396 πάντη δὲ T: οὕτως δὲ Procl. || καὶ Procl.: κεν T || 399 οὐδὲ ἐπουλήθουσιν T: em. Buresch; 'puto legendum οὐδ' αὐτὸν' Tmg. || 401 ὀμβριμόθυμοι T pro ὀβρ- def. Buresch Erbse 52. Vide Pythiae oraculum Augusto editum: cf. Malalas X, pp. 231-232 Dindorf || 405 ἀμφιπολεύων em. Buresch: ἀμφιπολιτεύων T || 406 νῦν: ἄψ dubitanter Scott-Ferguson || 407 κείνου em. Erbse: κείνω T Buresch 53. 411 ἄνδρες ins. Buresch: 'videtur esse mutilus versus' et ad ἀλιτροί 'supple ἄνδρες' T mg. || 412 κ' Erbse: δ' T Buresch || 413 φθέγξαιθ' em. Buresch: φθέγγαιτ' T

Ὁμνυμι τὸν κατέχοντα θρόνους ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἅπασαν
καὶ τῶν οὐρανίων μακάρων γεννήτορα κείνον,
ὃς κατέχει πόντον πολὺν γλαυκὴν τε θάλασσαν·
πάντα χαμαὶ πεσέει καὶ πάνθ' ἓνα θρῆνον αἰεῖσει.

54. "Οτι ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῦ βασιλέως Λέοντος ναὸς εἰδώλου, ὁμηλῆς τῆς 420
Κυζικηνῶν πόλεως, ἔμελλε παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς εὐκτήριον μετασκευ-
ασθῆναι οἶκον τῆς ὑπερενδόξου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου, καὶ εὐρέθη ἐν
λίθῳ μεγάλῳ κατὰ τὸ πλευρὸν τοῦ νεῶ χρησμός ἐγκεκολαμμένος. Ὁ δὲ
αὐτὸς εὐρέθη καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει τοῦ νεῶ κατὰ τὴν
πύλιν, ἀπαραλλάκτως ὅμοιος ὢν ἐκείνῳ· ἐρωτησάντων γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν 425
τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα οὕτως· 'προφήτευσον ἡμῖν προφήτα, Τιτὰν Φοῖβ' Ἀπολλων,
τίνος ἔσται δόμος οὗτος;' ἔχρησε τάδε·

55. "Οσα μὲν πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ κόσμον ὄρωρε, ποιεῖτε· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐφετμεύω 430
τρὶς ἓνα μῶνον ὑψιμέδοντα θεόν, οὗ λόγος ἀφθιτος ἐν ἀδαεὶ κόρη ἐγκύμων
ἔσται· ὅστις ὥσπερ τόξον πυρφόρον μέσον διαδραμὼν κόσμον ἅπαντα

53. 416 ἐπὶ Buresch (*in app.*) Erbse: ὑπὸ T Buresch (*in textu*) || 419 πάνθ' ἓνα Erbse: πᾶς ἓνα olim coni. Erbse in diss. πᾶς θ' ἓνα T Buresch 54-55. Testimonium antiquissimum huius oraculi praebebat Theodotus ep. Ancyrae, Or. in S. Mariam Dei Genitricem (ed. Jugie in PO 19, 333-334). Responsum Apollinis Sophocli adsignat cod. Paris. gr. 2598, saec. XV, fol. 268v: προφητεία Σοφοκλέους περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Σοφοκλῆς ἔφη. 54. 421 πόλεως em. Buresch: πόλεων T 'fort. πολιτῶν' T mg. || 424 ἐν Ἀθήναις Erbse: ἐν Ἀθηναῖσιν T Ἀθηνησιν Buresch Ἐπίγραμμα εὐρεθὲν ἐν λίθῳ κεκολλημένον εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον ναὸν τῶν θεῶν Ἀθηναίων, νυνὶ δὲ τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου Σ || titulus Ἐρώτησις Ἰάσωνος βασιλέως τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, ὅτε ἐκτίζετο ὁ ναός, εἰς τὸ Πύθιον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος legitur in χ; cf. Malalas IV, pp. 77-78 Dindorf: καὶ ἀπελθόντες οἱ Ἀργοναῦται εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον, ἔνθα λέγεται τὰ Πύθια θερμά, καὶ ποιήσαντες θυσίαν ἐπηρώτησαν λέγοντες ταῦτα || 426 Τιτὰν Φοῖβ' Th χ E: Τιτὰν Φοῖβε Σ Ox Dindorf Erbse Φοῖβε Τιτὰν T Buresch || 427 τίνος ἔσται δόμος οὗτος Th: τί ἔσται <ῆ> τίνος ἔσται Σ τίνος ἔσται δόμος οὗτος ἢ τί δ' ἔσται χ τίνος ἔσται δόμος οὗτος εἰ τί δὲ ἔσται Ox Dindorf εἰ τί δὲ ἔσται om. Cedr. τί ἐστί τίνι τε εἴη μετὰ σε δόμος οὗτος E τί ἐστί τίνος τε εἴη π τίνος ἄρα ἔσται μ τίνος ἂν εἴη T Buresch Erbse 55. 428 ὄρωρε: ὥρωνεν Th || ἐγὼ γὰρ Th T Buresch Erbse: ἐγὼ δὲ Σχ Ox Dindorf ἐγὼ δ' π πλὴν ἐγὼ μ || ἐφετμεύω: ἥγουν μετὰ ἀληθείας προσαγορεύω T mg. ἐφετμέω Cedr. Dindorf ἐπεθνεύω Ox || 429 τρεῖς ἓνα Th Ox χ: τρεῖν ἓνα Cedr. Dindorf τρεῖς ἓνα Σ π P τρισένα TL' Buresch Erbse || μῶνον Σ T Buresch Erbse: μόνον χ om. Th π ἐν τρισὶν ἓνα μόνον μ || οὗ λόγος Σ Th TPQ: οὗ ὁ λόγος B' ZS || ἀδαεὶ: 'τουτέστιν ἀπειρογάμῳ' T mg. Chron. Cedr. E Dindorf ἀδαῇ Ox || κόρη Th Ox Cedr. χμ E Dindorf om. cett. || ἐγκύμων Σ: ἔγκυμος Th Ox T χπ E Buresch Erbse ἔγκυος Chron. Cedr. Dindorf μ || 430 ὅστις T Buresch Erbse: ὃς Th χ || ὅστις ὥσπερ: οὗτος ὥσπερ Ox Dindorf ὥσπερ γὰρ π οὗτος γὰρ μ || πυρφόρον Σ Th T Buresch Erbse: πυριφόρον Ox Cedr. Dindorf χ || πυρφόρον τόξον E || κόσμον ἅπαντα: ἅπαντα κόσμον Th Ox Dindorf

ζωογήσας πατρὶ προσάξει δῶρον· αὐτῆς ἔσται δόμος οὗτος, Μυρία δὲ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς.

56. Ἐκ τῶν Σκαμάνδρου.

Εἷς πρὸ αὐγῶν θεὸς γεννηθεὶς, ὁ πρὸ οὐρανῶν καὶ γῆς καὶ πάσης κτίσεως καὶ κατασκευῆς κόσμου ὢν, ὡς τρισεὶς θεός, λόγος ἐκ Μαρίας [τινος], 435 παρθένου τινὸς Ἑβραίδος, τίκεται [ἐκ παρθένου].

57. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἀγίου εὐαγγελίου.

Ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλεως Ναζαρεθ εἰς τὴν πόλιν Ἰούδα ἣτις καλεῖται Βηθλέεμ, ἀπογράψασθαι σὺν Μαριὰμ τῇ ἐμνηστευμένῃ αὐτῷ, οὕσῃ ἐγκύῳ (p). 440

58. Ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Γάλατας ἐπιστολῆς Παύλου.

Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν (q).

59. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου. 445

Ὅταν ὑψωθῶ πάντας ἐλκύσω πρὸς ἑμαυτόν (r).

60. Ἐκ τῆς α' καθολικῆς ἐπιστολῆς Πέτρου τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου.

Κρεῖττον γὰρ ἀγαθοποιοῦντας, εἰ θέλοι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, πάσχειν ἢ κακοποιοῦντας. Ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν, δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, ἵνα ἡμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ θεῷ (s). 450

61. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίου.

Καὶ ἐξεπλήσσοντο δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες· Πόθεν τούτῳ ταῦτα, καὶ τίς ἡ σοφία ἡ δοθεῖσα τούτῳ, καὶ δυνάμεις τοιαῦται διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ γίνονται; οὐχ οὗτός ἐστι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ τέκτονος καὶ Μαρίας (t);

56–62. cod. Σ

p) Lc. 2,4–5
t) Mc. 6,2–3

q) Gal. 4,4–5

r) Io. 12,32

s) I Pt. 3,17–18

55. 431 ζωογέας Ox Dindorf || αὐτῆς ἔσται δόμος οὗτος T Buresch Erbse: οὗτος ἔσται δόμος Th || οὗτος om. Σ Ox Dindorf || Μυρία Σxp PT Erbse 'forte Μαρία' Tmg. Μαρία Th Ox Cedr. E Buresch Μηρία Q' || 431–432 τὸ ὄνομα: τοῦνομα Σxp Th Ox E Dindorf **56.** 434 πρὸ αὐγῶν θεός Σ Pitra: θεός πρὸ αὐγῶν *transp.* Erbse || 435 τρισεὶς (*vel* τρεῖς εἰς) Erbse: τρεῖς ἓνα Σ || ἐκ Μαρίας Erbse: ἀπὸ Μαρίας Σ Pitra || 436 <ἐκ> παρθένου *coni.* Erbse || τινὸς Ἑβραίδος *corr.* Erbse: τιτὸς εραίδος Σ τις αἰδῖος Pitra || *verba* τινος (*post* Μαρίας) *et* ἐκ παρθένου (*post* τίκεται) *exp.* Erbse

62. Ἐκ τῶν Σκαμάνδρου.

455

Φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς ὁ ὕψιστος, ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ ἄφθαρτος φρικτὸς καὶ <ἐν> ξύλῳ
 τρισμακαρίστῳ τανυσθεὶς, νύκτωρ τριήμερος φανείς, εἰς Ὀλυμπον ἐπτά-
 ζωνον ἀνδρόδμητος ἀνεξιχνίαστος <ἔχων τε> αὐτεξούσιον ἀρχαγγελικὸν
 ἐφ' ἄρματος τέτρασι ζώοις πολυομμάτοις ἑξαπτερύγοις <ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ>
 προγεννήτορι πατρὶ καὶ ὁμοουσίῳ πνεύματι συγκάθεται <ἐν τῷ> θρόνῳ,
 ὁ πρὸ ὧν καὶ <νῦν> ὧν καὶ αἰεὶ διαμένων θεὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

460

62. 455 Σκαμάνδρου *corr.* Pitra: σκαμάντρου Σ || 458 ἀνδρόδμητος *em.* Erbse: ἀνδρίδμητος Σ || 459 ἐφ' *corr.* Erbse: ἐπὶ Σ || τέτρασι ζώοις πολυομμάτοις ἑξαπτερύγοις *cf.* Αποκ. 4,6.8: Καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσαρα ζῶα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπίσθεν . . . καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα, ἐν καθ' ἓν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἑξ, κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν γέμουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν κτλ. || 460 συγκάθεται *em.* Erbse: συγκάθεται Σ || *omnia supplementa add.* Erbse

ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΡ' ΕΛΛΗΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΙΣ ΣΟΦΩΝ)

1. Συμφωνία ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ θεόπνευστον νέαν γραφὴν ἡγουν ἀπόδειξις καὶ ἔλεγχος παρ' αὐτῶν περὶ τῆς ἁγίας ὁμοουσίας καὶ ὑπερουσίας, ἀδιαιρέτου δημιουργοῦ, ζω- 5
αρχικῆς τε καὶ προσκυνητῆς τριάδος, πατρὸς λέγω καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ <περὶ> τῆς ὑπεραγάθου καὶ φιλανθρώπου ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας τοῦ ἐνὸς τῆς αὐτῆς πανσέπτου καὶ παννυμνήτου μακαρίας τριά-
δος, θεοῦ λόγου <καὶ περὶ τῆς τιμίου καὶ σωτηριώδους αὐτοῦ σταυρώσεως>.
2. Ὅτι Ὁρφεύς, ὁ Οἰάγρου τοῦ Θρακῆος, πρότερον μὲν ὕμνους τινὰς εἰς 10
τοὺς ἐξαγίστους θεοὺς ἐξυφάνας καὶ τὰς μιὰς γενέσεις αὐτῶν διηγη-
σάμενος, εἶτα συνεῖς ὥσπερ τὸ δυσσεβὲς τοῦ πράγματος, μετέθηκεν ἑαυτὸν
ἐπὶ τὸ μόνον καλὸν, καὶ τὸν ὄντως ὕμνων θεὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν πάσαις Χαλδαίων
σοφίαν [δηλαδὴ τὴν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ] ἐπαινῶν παραινεῖ τῷ ἰδίῳ παιδί Μουσαίῳ
τοῖς μὲν φθάσασι μυθευθῆναι μὴ πειθεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ῥηθῆσεσθαι μέλλουσι 15
προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. Ἔστι δὲ τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα·
3. Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι,
φεύγοντες δικαίων θεσμούς· θεῖόν τε νόημα

1. cod. Σ

2-6. cod. T

1-2. BIBAION B' ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΡ' ΕΛΛΗΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΙΣ ΣΟΦΩΝ
planitatis causa inserui

1. 3 ἐκ *exp.* Scott-Ferguson || 4 παρ' αὐτῶν *em.* Erbse: κατ' αὐτῶν Σ Scott-Ferguson || 7 περὶ *ins.* Erbse || 9 *verba post λόγον add.* Erbse 2. Cf. Theoph., Ad Autol. III,2; Ps.Iust., Coh. 36,4; Lact., Div. Inst. I,7,6-7; Cyr. Al., C.Iul. I,35 || 14 *verba* δηλαδὴ τὴν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ *corrupta ex margine in lectum irrepsisse suspicatus sum et delenda existimavi* 3. Vv. 4-8. 10-12. 14. 16. 17. 21. 22. 24. 33-37 cf. Ps.Iust., De Mon. 2,4; vv. 1. 2-8. 14. 15. 17. 21. 22. 24. 33-37 cf. Ps.Iust., Coh. 15,1 et Cyr. Al., C. Iul. I,35 (= Orph. fr. 245 Kern); vv. 1. 3-9. 10-12 cf. Clem. Al., Protr. 7,74,4-6; vv. 14. 16. 35. 36 a. 34 b cf. Clem. Al., Strom. V, 14, 126,5- 127,2; vv. 5-9 cf. Clem. Al., Strom. V, 14,123,1; vv. 10-12. 21-23 cf. Clem. Al., Strom. V, 12,78,4-5; v. 17 cf. Clem. Al., Strom. V, 14,133,1-2 (= Orph. fr. 246 Kern); vv. 27-31. 33-36. 38-40. 43. 44 cf. Clem. Al., Strom. V,14,123,2-124,1; vv. 1-12. 14-21. 25-36. 38-46 cf. Eus., P.E. XIII,12,5; v. 1 cf. Eus., P.E. III,7,1 et III,13,4 et Thdrt., Graec. aff. cur., I,86 et I,115; vv. 10-12. 21. 23. 33-36. 38-40 cf. Thdrt., Graec. aff. cur., II,30-31 (= Orph. fr. 247 Kern) || 17 φθέγξομαι—βέβηλοι 'quaere in Iustino et confer' T mg.

- πάντες ὁμῶς. Σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φασεφόρου ἔγγονε Μήνης,
 Μουσαί', ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν 20
 5 ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.
 Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τοῦτω προσέδρευε
 ἰθύνων κραδῆς νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε
 ἀτραπιτοῦ, μῦθον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο τυπωτῇ
 ἀθάνατον. Παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαίνει· 25
 10 εἷς ἔστ' αὐτογενής, <Διὸς> ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται,
 ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται οὐδὲ τις αὐτὸν
 εἰσοράα θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁράται.
 [αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρώσι· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.]
 Οὗτος δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει 30
 15 ἀνθρώποις, αὐτοῖς δὲ κῆρις καὶ μῖσος ὀπηδεῖ
 καὶ πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἰδ' ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.
 Οὐδὲ τις ἔσθ' ἕτερος, τῷ κεν ρέα πάντ' ἐσορήται.
 Οὗ κεν ἴδοις αὐτόν, πρὶν δὴ ποτε δ <εὖρ>' ἐπὶ γαίαν,
 τέκνον ἐμόν, δεῖξω σοι, ὀπηνίκα δέρκομαι αὐτοῦ 35
 20 ἵχνια καὶ χεῖρα στιβαρὴν κρατεροῖο θεοῖο.
 Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρώ, περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται·
 πᾶσι γὰρ θνητοῖς <θνηταὶ> κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις
 μικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες <τε> καὶ ὀστέα ἐμπεφύασιν,
 ἀσθενέες τ' ἰδέειν Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα. 40

3. 19 πάντες ὁμῶς Ps.Iust. Clem. T Buresch Erbse: πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ Eus. || ἔγγονε Eus. (codd. ION) T Buresch Holladay: ἔκγονε Ps.Iust. Clem. Eus. (cod. B) Cyr. Erbse || 20 Μουσαίε T em. Buresch || μὴ δέ σε T: em. Buresch || 24 τυπωτῇ Eus. T Buresch Erbse: ἄνακτα cett. || 25 ad παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος *verba* 'ὁ τοῦ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προφητῶν' asterisco referuntur T mg. || 26 αὐτογενής Ps.Iust. Clem., Protr. Cyr. T Buresch Erbse: αὐτοτελής Clem., Strom. Eus. || Διὸς: cf. Orph. fr. 168,2 Kern Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται *et infra* v. 24 Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα; τοῦ δ' *suppl.* Kroll ἐνὸς Ps.Iust. Buresch Erbse Riedweg Holladay αὐτοῦ Eus. || ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται T Buresch Erbse: δ' ὑπο πάντα τελείται Eus. πέφυκεν Clem., Strom. || 27 περινίσσεται Clem., Protr. Eus. T Buresch Erbse: περιγίνεται Ps.Iust. Cyr. || 28 εἰσοράα Ps.Iust. Clem. Eus. Thdrt. Kern Erbse Riedweg: εἰσοράει T Buresch Holladay || 29 αὐτὸν—ἐστήρικται *del.* Kern Erbse *def.* Buresch Riedweg Holladay; *vide infra* v. 21 || 30 οὗτος T: αὐτὸς Eus. || 31 αὐτοῖς δὲ κῆρις Erbse: κ' ἔρις T Buresch Holladay δὲ τ' ἔρις Schenkl (*ad Eus. ante codicis T editionem*) αὐτῷ (cod. D' *et* Mras) δὲ χάριν Eus. χάρις Stephanus Mras || 33 οὐδὲ τις Ps.Iust. Clem. Eus. Cyr. Riedweg: οὐδεὶς T Buresch Erbse Holladay || τῷ κεν ρέα πάντ' ἐσορήται T Buresch Erbse: σὺ δὲ κεν ρέα πάντ' ἐσορήσω Eus. (em. Mras: ἐσόρησο codd.) || 34 οὗ κεν ἴδοις em. Buresch Kern Erbse: οὐκ οὐκ ἴδῃσ' T αἶ κεν ἴδῃς Eus. οὗ κεν ἴδῃς Elter Holladay || πρὶν: 'πρὸ τοῦ σαρκωθῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ γῆν ὀφθῆναι' Tmg. || δῆποτε T: em. Buresch || δ [1 cm] ἐπὶ T: em. Buresch || 36 ἵχνια: 'ὅτε τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων ἔδειξε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας' (cf. Io. 20,26) T mg. || στιβαρὴν χεῖρα T Holladay: b *supra* στιβαρὴν *et a supra* χεῖρα *in* T || 38 θνηταὶ ins. Buresch || 39 τε ins. Buresch || 40 Δία τὸν πάντων Ps.Iust., Coh. edd. Erbse: τὸν διὰ πάντων Ps.Iust., Coh. Mon. q Stephanus τὸν ἀεὶ πάντων Ps.Iust., Mon. s τὸν δὴ πάντα T Holladay τὸν δὴ πάντων Buresch διὰ πάντων τὸν Burkert ap. Riedweg

- 25 Λοιπὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι δεκάπτυχον ἀνθρώποισιν·
οὐ γάρ κέν τις ἴδοι θνητῶν μερόπων κρείοντα,
εἰ μὴ μονογενὴς τις ἀπορρῶξ φύλου ἄνωθεν
Χαλδαίων· ἴδρις γὰρ ἔην ἄστρον τε πορείης
καὶ σφαίρης, ἥ τ' ἀμφὶς ὀχῆος ἀεὶ περιτέλλει 45
- 30 κυκλοτερὴς ἴση τε κατὰ σφέτερον κνώδακα.
Πνεύματα δ' ἥνιοχεῖ περὶ τ' ἡέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα,
ἐκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς σέλατα, διαφεγγέα πάντη.
Αὐτὸς δὴ μέγαν αὖθις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
χρυσέφῃ εἰνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίῃ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε, 50
- 35 χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρμασιν ὠκεανοῖο
πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν, ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις αὐτὸν
ἐν θυμῷ πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης
οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. Ἔστι δὲ πάντη
αὐτὸς ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ 55
- 40 ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων, ἥ δ' αὖ μέσον, ἥ δὲ τελευτήν,
ὥς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὥς ὕδογενὴς διέταξεν
ἐκ θεόθεν γνώμην τε λαβὼν καὶ δίπλακα θεσμόν.
Ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτόν σε λέγειν, τρομέω δὲ τελίην,
ἐκ νόου ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει περὶ πάντ' ἐνὶ τάξει. 60

41 λοιπὸν: 'ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις' T mg. || δεκάπτυχον: 'ἡ μωσαϊκὴ δεκάλογος διδάσκαλος ἔσται' T mg. || 42 κρείοντα T Buresch Erbse Holladay: κραίνοντα Eus. || 44 Χαλδαίων κτλ.: 'ὁ γὰρ τὴν δεκάπτυχον γράψας Μωσῆς τῶν Χαλδαίων ἐμπειρος ἦν καὶ τῆς ἀστρονομίας' Tmg. || ἄστρον τε πορείης T Buresch Erbse: ἄστροιο πορείης Clem. Eus. || 45 ἥτ' T Holladay 'ἥτις ἐξ ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοῦ ὀρίζοντος ἢ τοῦ ἄζονος ἀεὶ κινεῖται' T mg. || 46 κυκλοτερὴς τ' ἐν ἴσῳ, κατὰ δὲ (τε, κατὰ Clem.) σφέτερον κνώδακα Clem., Strom. Eus. || 47 πνεύματα Eus. Buresch Erbse: πνεύματι Clem. T Riedweg Holladay || ἥνιοχεῖ: T *supra lin.* 'εὐτάκτως ἄγει <περὶ> (ins. Buresch) τὸν ἀέρα καὶ (em. Buresch: ἢ T) τὰ τῆς γῆς πέρατα, τὸ ὕδωρ' || 48 πυρὸς σέλατα: T *supra lin.* 'τῆς θεότητος ἀπανγάσματα' et T mg. 'in antigr. πυροσέλευτα' || 50 χρυσέφῃ: 'in antigr. χρυσέων' T mg. || εἰνὶ Ps.Iust., Mon. q Eus. Cyr.: ἐνὶ Clem. Ps.Iust. Coh. Mon. s || γαίῃ δ' ὑπὸ Clem., Strom. 124 Eus. Thdrt. T Buresch Erbse Holladay: γαίης δ' ἐπὶ Ps.Iust., Coh. Mon. γαίῃ δ' ἐπὶ Clem., Strom. 127 γαίῃ δ' ἐπὶ Cyr. || 52-53 πάντοθεν—θαλάσσης T: πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν· περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὐρεα μακρὰ Ps.Iust., Coh. Mon., Cyr. πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν, γαίῃ δ' ἐπὶ (ὑπὸ) ποσ(σ)ὶ βέβηκεν Clem., Strom. 127 Eus. ἐκτέτακεν, ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἐνδοθι θυμοῦ (θυμῷ) Clem., Strom. 124 Eus. || 54 πάντη T Clem.: πάντων *codd.* Eus. πάντως Stephanus Mras || 57 ὕδογενὴς *coni.* Scaliger *appr.* Mras Riedweg: ὕλογενὴς T Buresch Erbse Holladay; 'ὁ τὴν τῶν ἐνύλων γένεσιν γράψας Μωσῆς' T mg. || 58 δίπλακα: 'forte δυσί· διὸ γὰρ ἔλαβε τὸν νόμον ἐν πλαξί' Tmg. || 59 ἄλλως Clem. Eus. Riedweg: ἄλλ' ὥς T Buresch Erbse Holladay || σε Clem. Riedweg: δὲ Eus. T Holladay με Buresch Erbse || τρομέω: 'φρίττω τὸ μυστήριον λογιζόμενος' Tmg. || δὲ τελίην T Buresch Holladay: δέ τε (γε Eus.) γυῖα Clem. Eus. δέ γε λίην *em.* Erbse || 60 ὑπάτου T: *em.* Buresch || πάντ' ἐνὶ: 'in antigr. πάντες' T mg.

45 Ὡ τέκνον, σὺ δὲ σοῖσι νόοις πέλας ἴσθι ἐς αὐτόν
μηδ' ἀπόδος, μάλ' ἐπικρατέων στέρνοις θεοφίμην.

4. "Οτι θεὸς ἀρχὴν μὲν ἔχει τὸν οὐρανόν, μέσον δὲ τὴν γῆν, τέλος δὲ τὰ ὑποχθόνια. Τὸ δὲ ἔχων εἴληπται ἀντὶ τοῦ κρατῶν καὶ ἄρχων. Ἡ ὅτι ἀρχὴν μὲν ἔχει λέγεται ὡς γενεσιουργὸς τῶν ἄλλων, 'μέσον' δὲ ὡς τὰ μεταξὺ γεγονότα δημιουργήματα συνέχων, 'τέλος' δὲ ὡς μετὰ τὴν πάντων παρέλευσιν αἰδίως διαμένων. 65

5. "Οτι δύο δεκάλογοι ὑπὸ Μωσέως ἐγράφησαν προ<σ>τάξει τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ, ὧν ὁ πρῶτός ἐστιν οὗτος· 'τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῶν καθελεῖτε καὶ τὰς στήλας <αὐτῶν> συντρίψετε καὶ τὰ ἄλση <αὐτῶν> ἐκκόψετε καὶ τὰ γλυπτὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν κατακαύσετε πυρί· οὐ γὰρ μὴ προσκυνήσητε θεῷ ἐτέρῳ· ὁ γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ζηλωτὸν ὄνομα, θεὸς ζηλωτῆς ἐστὶ', καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς (α). 'Ὁ δὲ ἕτερος δεκάλογός ἐστιν οὗτος· 'ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος, ὁ θεὸς σου, ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας. Οὐκ ἔσονται σοι θεοὶ ἕτεροι πλην ἐμοῦ', καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς (b). 70 75

6. "Οτι ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ ψαλμῷ ἐξ ἐπερωτήσεως ἀπόκρισις θεία φέρεται δεκάλογον ἔχουσα (c).

7. "Οτι ὁ Πλάτων οὕτως εὖχεσθαι διδάσκει·

Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ καὶ εὐχομένοις καὶ ἀνεύκτοις
ἄμμι δίδου, τὰ δὲ λυγρὰ καὶ εὐχομένων ἀπερύκοις. 80

Τουτέστι· καὶ σιωπῶσιν ἡμῖν χαρίζου, ἅπερ οἶδας χρηστά· εἰ δέ τι τῶν ἀσυμφόρων εὐξόμεθα τὸ μέλλον ἀγνοοῦντες, κώλυσον ὡς ἀγαθός.

8. "Οτι ὁ Πλάτων ποτέ τινη θέλοντι περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κινήσεως ἄστρον διαλέγεσθαι ἔφη καταγινώσκων· "Ἐταῖρε, πόσον ἔχεις ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ;"

7. codd. Tv: *om.* Steuchus Piccolos

8-31. cod. T

7. 79-80 Ps. Plat., Alcib. sec. 143a 1-2; cf. Procl., In Plat. Remp., Kroll I, p. 188

a) Ex. 34,13-14

b) Ex. 20,1-3

c) Ps. 14,1-5

62 ἀπόδος *corr.* Buresch: ἄπογος T 5. 68 προτάξει T Buresch: *em.* Erbse || 70 αὐτῶν *utroque loco ins.* Buresch: *om.* T || συντρίψατε *et* ἐκκόψατε T: *em.* Buresch || 71 προσκυνήσετε T: *em.* Buresch || 75 καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς Erbse: *et caetera* T Buresch 7. 78 ὅτι ὁ T: ὁ δὲ v Wolff || 79 ζεῦ: ὦ BL Wolff || 80 λυγρὰ—ἀπερύκοις: λυγρὰ καὶ εὐχομένων ἀπέρυκε Procl. δειλὰ (*vel* δεινὰ) καὶ εὐχομένοις ἀπαλέξειν κελεύει Ps. Plat. || 81-82 τουτέστι—ἀγαθός *om.* v 8. Dictum spurium aliunde ignotum || 84 πόσον *em.* Buresch Erbse: πόστον T

9. "Οτι ἐν πολλοῖς Φάνητα φερωνύμως ὁ Ὅρφεὺς προσαγορεύει τὸν μονο- 85
γενῆ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ· οἶεται γὰρ αὐτῷ πρέπειν τὸ ὄνομα ὡς αἰδίδως καὶ
ἀοράτως πανταχοῦ φαίνονται καὶ ὡς πᾶσι τὸ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων φανῆναι παρα-
σχομένῳ. Μεμνημένος οὖν πολλαχῇ τοῦ μυθευομένου Διὸς καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου,
ὃν Φάνητα προσαγορεύει, δημιουργὸν πάντων αὐτὸν εἰσάγει τὸν Φάνητα 90
ὥσανεὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ υἱόν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐφάνη. Διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ
ῥαψωδίᾳ πρὸς Μουσαῖον οὕτω λέγει·

ταῦτα νόψω πεφύλαξο, φίλον τέκος, ἐν πραπίδεσσι
εἰδώς περ μάλα πάντα παλαιάφατα τὰπὸ Φάνητος.

10. "Οτι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος εἰπόντος 'πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων Σωκράτης 95
σοφώτατος' ἐκεῖνος μετριοφρονῶν καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίας τῶν ἄλλων φερόμενος
οἷον προσποιουμένων εἰδέναι ἂ μὴ ἴσασιν ἔφη· 'ἔοικα <οὖν> αὐτῷ τούτῳ
τῷ σμικρῷ σοφώτατος εἶναι, ὅτι ἂ μὴ οἶδα οὐδὲ οἶομαι εἰδέναι.'

11. "Οτι ὁ Πλάτων τὰ περὶ θεολογίας μυστήρια μὴ καταπιστεύων ἀκαθάρ-
τοις ἀκοαῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐπιστολῇ φησιν οὕτως· 'φραστέον δὴ σοι 100
δι' αἰνιγμῶν, ἴν', ἅν τι ἡ δέλτος ἢ πόντου ἢ γῆς ἐν πτυχαῖς πάθῃ, ὁ ἀναγνούς
μὴ γνῶ.'

12. "Οτι ἡ τριάς ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσον καὶ τέλος ἔχει καὶ δῆλον ὅτι πάντα τὰ 105
ὄντα διὰ τριάδος συνέστηκε· διὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ 'δύο' ἀριθμοῦ 'ἄμφω' μὲν
λέγομεν καὶ 'ἀμφοτέροι', 'πάντες' δὲ οὐ λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν τριῶν
κυρίως καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ταττομένων τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην
φέρομεν.

9. 92-93 Ἱεροὶ λόγοι ἐν ῥαψωδίαις κδ' (IV Rhapsodia ad Musaeum, Orph. 85
fr. 61 Kern) 10. 94-97 Ps.Iust., Coh. 36,1; 96-97 Plat., Apol. 21 d
6-7 11. 99-101 Plat., Ep. 2,312 d 12. 102-106 Arist., De caelo
A, 1, 268a 10-13; 15-19, pp. 1-2 Moraux: Καθάπερ γὰρ φασὶ καὶ οἱ
Πυθαγόρειοι, τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὰ πάντα τοῖς τρισὶν ὥρισται· τελευτὴ γὰρ καὶ μέσον
καὶ ἀρχὴ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἔχει τὸν τοῦ παντός, ταῦτα δὲ τὸν τῆς τριάδος (...)
'Αποδίδομεν δὲ καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· τὰ γὰρ δύο ἄμφω
μὲν λέγομεν καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀμφοτέρους, πάντας δ' οὐ λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν
τριῶν ταύτην τὴν κατηγορίαν (προσηγορίαν T et codd. FO Aristotelis) κατὰ-
φασιν (φέρομεν T φασὲν seu εἰλήφασιν codd. nonnulli) πρῶτον. De hac
Aristotelis sententia vide P. Moraux in "Hermes" 82 (1954), pp. 166 sqq.

9. 86 πρέπειν *em.* Buresch: πρέπειν T || 87-88 παρασχομένου T: *em.* Buresch
|| 88 μεμνημένου T: *em.* Buresch || 93 τὰπὸ *coni.* Erbse: κακ T κατὰ
Buresch Kern 10. 95 σοφώτατος Ps.Iust. Buresch Erbse diss. Marcovich
Riedweg: σοφώτερος T Erbse || ἀπ' ἐναντίας *em.* Erbse: ἀπεναντίας
T Riedweg || 96 προσποιουμένων Ps.Iust. Buresch Erbse: προσποιούνται
T || οὖν *addidi* || 97 σοφώτατος Ps.Iust. T Buresch Erbse Riedweg: σοφώ-
τερος Plat. Marcovich || οἶομαι Plat. Ps.Iust. Buresch: οἶμαι T Erbse
11. 99 δὴ Plat.: οὖν T Buresch Erbse || 100 ἴν', ἅν τι *em.* Buresch: ἴναν
τι T || πόντου *em.* Buresch: πόντος T || 100-101 πάθῃ *et* γνῶ T: *em.* Buresch

13. "Οτι Πορφύριος ὁ Φοῖνιξ, ὁ Ἀμελίου μὲν συμφοιτητής, μαθητὴς δὲ Πλωτίνου, φησὶν οὕτως· 'Περὶ τοῦ πρώτου αἰτίου οὐδὲν ἴσμεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπτόν οὔτε γνωστόν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτοῦ γνώσις ἢ ἀγνωσία.'

14. "Οτι Ἰάμβλιχος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς Πορφυρίου μαθητὴς.

110

15. "Οτι ὁ Ἐφέσιος Ἡράκλειτος αἰνιττόμενος τὸ '<ὁ> ἔχων ὅτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω' (d) φησὶν· 'Ἀξύνετοι ἀκούσαντες κωφοῖσιν εἰόκασι· φάτις αὐτοῖσι μαρτυρεῖ [λέγουσα] παρεόντας ἀπεῖναι.'

16. "Οτι Ἡράκλειτος μεμφόμενος τοὺς θύοντας τοῖς δαίμοσι ἔφη· 'Καθαίρονται δ' ἄλλως αἵματι μιαινόμενοι, ὁκοῖον εἴ τις ἐς πηλὸν ἐμβὰς πηλῷ ἀπονίζοιτο· μαίνεσθαι δ' ἂν δοκεῖοι εἴ τις μιν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιφράσαιτο οὕτω ποιέοντα. Καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλασι δὲ τουτέοισιν εὐχονται, ὁκοῖον εἴ τις <τοῖς> δόμοισι λεσχηνεύοιτο οὐ τι <γινώσκων θεοὺς οὐδ' ἥρωας, οὔτινές εἰσι>.'

115

17. 'Ο αὐτὸς πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους ἔφη· 'Εἰ θεοὶ εἰσιν, ἵνα τί θρηνεῖτε αὐτούς; εἰ δὲ θρηνεῖτε αὐτούς, μηκέτι τούτους ἡγεῖσθε θεοὺς.'

120

13. 108–109 Porph., Com. Parm. IX, lin.1–X, lin. 35, Hadot II, pp. 90–98; cf. fr. 427 Smith. De theologia apophatica huius fragmenti vide Saffrey, in Gonimos, 1988, pp. 1–20 15. 112–113 Heracl. fr. 2 Marcovich; cf. Clem. Al., Strom. V,14,115,3; Eus., P.E. XIII,13,42; Thdrt., Graec. aff. cur. I,70 16. 115–119 Heracl. fr. 86 Marcovich; cf. Clem. Al., Protr. IV,50,4; cf. Orig., C. Cels. I,5; VII,62 17. 120–121 Heracl. fr. 119 spur. Marcovich; cf. Plut., De Is. 379 B; Clem. Al., Protr. II,24,3; Epiph., Ancor. 104,1

d) Lc. 8,8; 14,35; cf. Mc. 4,9,23; Matth. 11,15; 13, 43

14. Vide fr. 33 c Smith 15. 111 ὁ *ins.* Neumann: *om.* T || 112 κωφοῖσιν Eus.: κωφοῖς Clem. Thdrt. || αὐτοῖσι Eus. (*codd.* IO) Thdrt.: αὐτοῖσιν Clem. αὐτοῖς Eus. (*codd.* ND) || 113 μαρτυρεῖ Clem. Eus. Thdrt. T: μαρτυρεῖ Buresch || λέγουσα T: *exp.* Neumann || ἀπεῖναι Eus. Thdrt.: ἀπιέναι Clem. 16. 115 ὁκοῖον Neumann Buresch Erbse: οἶον T || ἐς Neumann Buresch Erbse: εἰς T Marcovich || 116 δοκεῖοι Buresch Erbse Marcovich: δοκοῖη T Neumann || μιν Snell Erbse Marcovich: αὐτον T αὐτὸν Neumann Buresch Diels || ἀνθρώπων *del.* Wilamowitz || 117 ποιέοντα Neumann Buresch Diels Erbse Marcovich: ποιοῦντα T || δὲ T: *om.* Clem. Orig. *del.* Wilamowitz || τοῦ τέοισιν T Clem. (*cod.* A") || ἔχονται T || ὁκοῖον Clem. Orig. VII: ὡς Orig. I οἶον T || 118 τοῖς Orig. (*utroque loco*) Erbse Marcovich: *om.* Clem. T Buresch || δόμοισι Orig. VII Erbse Marcovich: δόμοις Clem. Orig. I T Buresch || οὐ τι Orig. Diels Erbse Marcovich: θύειν T *exp.* Neumann Buresch || 118–119 γινώσκων—εἰσι *ex* Orig. VII *add.* Neumann Diels Erbse Marcovich 17. 120–121 θρηνεῖτε (*utroque loco*) *et* ἡγεῖσθε T Erbse Marcovich: θρηνέετε *et* ἡγεέσθε Neumann Buresch

18. "Οτι Διαγόρας ὁ φιλόσοφος εἰς ναὸν Ἑρακλέους ἐσπέρας κατ' ἄ δειλὴν ἐπι>βάσης εἰσελθὼν ἔλαβε τὸν Ἑρακλέα ἐκ πρίνου κατεσκευασμένον καὶ χλευάζων εἶπεν· εἶα δὴ, ὦ Ἑρακλες, νῦν σοι ἤδη καιρός, ὥσπερ Εὐρυσθεὶ ἀτὰρ δ< ἡ καὶ> ἡμῖν ὑπουργῆσαι τὸν τρισκαιδέκατον τοῦτον ἄθλον ἐκτελοῦντα καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν φακὴν ἔψοντα.' Καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν εἰς τὸ πῦρ αὐτὸν ἐνέθηκεν. 125

19. "Οτι Διονύσιος, ὁ Σικελίας τύραννος, νικήσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῆς ἐσκύλευσε χλευάζων. Καὶ τοῦ μὲν Διὸς ἀφελόμενος τὸ χρυσοῦν περιβόλαιον ἐκέλευσεν ἔρεσθαι αὐτῷ ἐπιτεθῆναι, φάσκων κἂν τῷ θέρει αὐτῷ τὸν χρυσὸν βαρὺν εἶναι κἂν τῷ χειμῶνι ψυχρόν, τὸ δὲ ἔριον ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς καιροῖς ἀρμόδιον. 130

20. Καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ χρυσοῦ ὄντος τὸν πάγονα λαβὼν, ἀσύμφωνον καὶ ἀπαράδεκτον εἶναι ἔφη τὸν μὲν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀπόλλωνα ἀγένειον ἱστορεῖσθαι, τοῦτον δὲ γενειήτην. 135

21. Καὶ πάντων τῶν ξοάνων ἐκτεταμέναις χερσὶ χρυσᾶς φιάλας βασταζόντων ἀφείλετο, λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον λέγων ἢ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι· εὖηθες γάρ, φησί, πάντῳ τὸ μὴ δέχεσθαι παρὰ τῶν προτεινόντων τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐκοντὶ διδόντων.'

22. "Οτι ὁ Ἑράκλειτος ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας γέρα τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἀπονέμοντας εἶπεν· Δαιμόνων ἀγάλασιν εὐχονται οὐκ ἀκούουσιν, ὅκωσπερ <εἰ> ἀκούοιεν, οὐκ ἀποδιδούσιν, ὅκωσπερ <εἰ> οὐκ ἀπαιτέοιεν.' 140

23. "Οτι κατὰ Πίνδαρον ἀπίστοις πιστὸν οὐδέν.

24. "Οτι Σιμωνίδης ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀνεβάλλετο καὶ αὐθις ἐρωτηθεὶς τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὑπερθέσεως· "Ὅσον, ἔφη, μᾶλλον σκοπῶ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοσοῦτον ἀπέχω εἰδέναι.' 145

25. "Οτι ὁ Πορφύριος εἰς ἐγένετο παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν, διὰ δὲ τὰς

22. 141–142 Heracl. fr. 86 g¹ Marcovich 23. 143 Pind. fr. 233 Maehler: πιστὸν δ' ἀπίστοις οὐδέν; cf. Clem. Al., Paed. III,12,92,4

18. Narratiuncula Diagorae adsignanda est: vide T. 29 Winiarczyk; cf. Clem. Al., Protr. II,24,4; Epiph., Ancor. 103,8 || 122 Διαγόρας *scripsi* (vide *infra* Chron. VI,2,16): Διογένης *cell.* || 122–123 κατὰ δειλὴν ἐπιβάσης *scripsi* *duce* Erbse: κατ [lac. 1,5 cm] βάσης T καταβάσης *suppl.* Buresch κατ' οὐρανοῦ προβάσης Erbse diss. || 123 πρίνου *scripsi* *duce* Erbse: ξύλου Clem. τρίχων T τρίχων ξύλῳ Buresch || 125 δ [lac. 1 cm] T: *suppl.* Buresch *sec.* Clem. || 126 ἔψοντα *em.* Buresch: ἔλοντα T 19. Cf. Clem. Al., Protr. IV,52,2; Lact., Div. Inst. II,4,16–17 || 130 ἔρεσθαι Clem.: ἔριον T Buresch Erbse 20–21. Cf. Lact., Div. Inst. II,4,18–19 20. 134 ἀπαράδεκτον Erbse: ἄδεκτον T Buresch 22. 141–142 ὅκωσπερ <εἰ> (*utroque loco*) Erbse: ὥσπερ T Buresch Marcovich || 142 ἀπαιτέοιεν Buresch Erbse: ἀπαιτοῖεν T Marcovich 24. Vide narratiunculam ap. Cic., Nat. deor. I,22,60, Pease I, pp. 349–350 25. Vide fr. 10 T. Smith; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. V,2,3; Eunap., Vitae soph. IV,2,5; Socr., H.E. III,23,38;

ἐπενεχθείσας αὐτῷ, ὡς ἰστόρησαν ἄγιοι, ὑπὸ τινων Χριστιανῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης πληγὰς ἐν ἰδιωτικοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπέστη ἀφ' ἡμῶν. Φιλοχρήματος δὲ ὢν πλουσίαν ἔγημε γυναῖκα πέντε παίδων μητέρα, 150 γεγηρακυῖαν ἥδη καὶ Ἑβραίαν.

26. Ὅτι Εὐριπίδης ἐν ΟΙΔΙΠΟΔΙ τῷ δράματί [αὐτοῦ] φησι·

κακὸν <γάρ> ἄνδρα χρὴ κακῶς πάσχειν αἰεί.

27. Ὅτι Μένανδρος παραινεῖ·

ἄνθρωπος ὢν τοῦτ' ἴσθι καὶ μέμνησ' αἰεί.

155

Καὶ πάλιν·

εἰ θνητὸς εἶ, βέλτιστε, θνητὰ καὶ φρόνει.

Καὶ αὖθις·

ὕπὲρ εὐσεβείας καὶ λάλει καὶ μάνθανε.

28. <Καὶ πάλιν>

160

ἔα κεκρύφθαι λανθάνουσιν ἀτυχίαν·

τὸ γὰρ ἐξελέγχειν τὴν ὕβριν διττὴν φέρει.

29. Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον· ὄνου ἀποθανόντος ὥνὰς μὴ ἀναγίνωσκε.

30. Ὅτι Ἀντισθένης φησί·

αἰσχρὸν τό γ' αἰσχρὸν, κἂν δοκῇ, κἂν μὴ δοκῇ.

165

31. Ὅτι Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος, ὁ τοῦ Πύρρωνος μαθητῆς, οὕτω γράφει·

σχέτλιοι ἄνθρωποι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἶον,

τοίων ἔκ τ' ἐρίδων ἔκ τε στοναχῶν πέπλασθε.

26. 153 Euripides, TrGF 1049,4 Nauck-Snell; cf. Stob., Anth. IV,5,11, v.4
27. 155 Menander fr. 944 Koerte-Thierfelder sec. Stob., Anth. III,21,1
Philemonis est; 157 Menander fr. 945 Koerte-Thierfelder = Mon. 246
Jaekel sec. Stob., Anth. III,21,4 Antiphanis est; 159 Menander fr. 946 Koerte-
Thierfelder = Mon. 781 Jaekel 28. 161-162 Menander fr. 947 Koerte-
Thierfelder novum distichon est 30. 165 Antisthenes fr. novum: cf.
Plut., Mor. 33c (De aud. poet. 12) 31. 167-168 Timo Phliasius fr. 784
Suppl. Hell.; 170 fr. 785. Cf. Eus., P.E. XIV,18,28; Thdrt., Graec. aff. cur.
II,20-21

150 φιλοχρήματος: *de Porphyrii avaritia vide* Beatrice, 'Antistes philosophiae' (1993),
p. 41 || πέντε παίδων: θυγατέρων μὲν πέντε, δυοῖν δὲ ἄρρενων οὖσαν μητέρα
Porph., Ad Marc.1 || 152 αὐτοῦ *exp.* Erbse || 153 γὰρ Stob. *ins.* Buresch
|| πάσχειν Stob.: πράσσειν T Buresch Erbse 28. 160 Καὶ πάλιν: *lac.*
[ca. 6 litt.] *expl.* Buresch || 162 διττὴν φέρει τὴν ὕβριν T: *transp.* Buresch
29. Fortasse paroemia valde obscura quam Erbse sic interpretatus est: 'noli
pactum emptiois relegere (h.e. noli recordari, quanti illum asinum emeris),
ne detrimento frustra movearis' 31. 168 τοίων Eus. Thdrt. Buresch
Erbse: τοίων T ποίων Wilamowitz || πέπλασθε Eus. (*codd.* ON): πεπλήνησθε
T Eus. Thdrt. (*codices nonnulli*) πέπλησθε Thdrt. (*codd. cett.*)

Καὶ πάλιν·

ἄνθρωποι κενεῆς οἰήσιος ἔμπλεοι ἀσκοί.

170

32. Ἑρμοῦ <ἐν λόγῳ τρίτῳ τῶν> ΠΡΟΣ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΝ περὶ θεοῦ.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐφικτόν ἐστιν εἰς ἀμυήτους τοιαῦτα μυστήρια παρέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ νοὶ ἀκούσατε· ἐν μόνον ἦν φῶς νοερὸν πρὸ φωτὸς νοεροῦ καὶ ἔστιν αἰεὶ, νοὺς νοὺς φωτεινός· καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἦν ἢ τούτου ἐνότης. Ἀεὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὦν, αἰεὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ νοὶ καὶ φωτὶ καὶ πνεύματι πάντα περιέχει.

175

33. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου.

Ἐκτὸς τούτου, οὐ θεός, οὐκ ἄγγελος, οὐ δαίμων, οὐκ οὐσία τις ἄλλη· πάντων γὰρ ἐστὶ κύριος καὶ πατήρ καὶ θεὸς καὶ πηγὴ καὶ ζωὴ καὶ δύναμις καὶ φῶς καὶ νοὺς καὶ πνεῦμα, καὶ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτόν ἐστι.

34. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ <ἐκ τοῦ τῶν> ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΤ ΔΙΕΞΟΔΙΚΩΝ πρώτου λόγου περὶ θεοῦ.

180

Ὁ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ Λόγος, ὃ τέκνον, αἰδίδιος, αὐτοκίνητος, ἀναναξής, ἀμείωτος, ἀμετάβλητος, ἀφθαρτος, μόνος αἰεὶ ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιος ἐστίν, <ἴσος δὲ καὶ ὁμαλός, εὐσταθής, εὐτακτος,> εἰς ὧν μετὰ τὸν προεγνωσμένον θεόν.

35. <Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ θεοῦ>.

185

Ὁ γὰρ λόγος αὐτοῦ προελθὼν, παντέλειος ὦν καὶ γόνιμος, καὶ δημιουργός, ἐν γονίμῳ φύσει πεσὼν ἐπὶ γονίμῳ ὕδατι ἔγκυνον τὸ ὕδωρ ἐποίησε.

32-33. 172-175 et 177-179 CH fr. 23, Nock-Festugière IV, p. 126; cf. Didym., De Trin. II,27; Cyr., C.Iul. I,48; Malalas II, pp. 26-27 Dindorf **34.** 182-184 CH fr. 30, Nock-Festugière IV, p. 135; cf. Cyr., C.Iul. I,46 **35.** 186-187 CH fr. 27, Nock-Festugière IV, p. 132; cf. Cyr., C.Iul. I,46; Malalas II, p. 27 Dindorf

170 κενῆς οἰήσεως T **32.** 171 *titulum ampl.* Erbse *Cyrolli verbis* (556 A) *usus* || 172 *verba* εἰ μὴ πρόνοιά τις ἦν τοῦ πάντων κυρίου ὥστε με τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀποκαλύπτει, οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς τοιοῦτος ἔρως κατεῖχεν, ἵνα περὶ τούτου ζητήσητε *ante* οὐ γὰρ ἐφικτόν *falso, ut videtur, posuit* Erbse, *Malalae ordinem secutus. Iuxta Didymi et Cyrolli textum, secretiore loco edenda putavi: vide infra caput 42* || 172-173 οὐ—ἀκούσατε *om.* χ Cedr. || 172 ἐστίν *om.* Σ || 173 ἦν Cyr. Σ: ἐστὶ τὸ Ox || ἐστίν Cyr.: ἦν Ox || 174 φωτινός Ox || ἢ *om.* Ox || ἢ *om.* Cyr. || 174-175 ἑαυτῷ ὦν Cyr. Chron.: αὐτῷ ὦν Did., Ox, Cedr. αὐτῷ ὦν P^o Dindorf αντωι ὦν Σ *om.* Su. χ || 175 τῷ ἑαυτοῦ Did. Cyr. Cedr.: τῷ αὐτῷ Ox ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Chron. τῷ αὐτοῦ Dindorf **33.** 176 Τοῦ αὐτοῦ—λόγου Σ: Καὶ μεθ' ἑτερά φησι Cyr. || 178 πάντων γὰρ κύριος καὶ θεός Ox || 178-179 καὶ πηγὴ—πνεῦμα Cyr. Σ: *om. cell.* || 179 ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπ' (ἐπ' Cyr. *codd. nonnulli*) αὐτόν Did. Cyr. *codd. nonnulli* Chron. Σ: ὑπ' αὐτόν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Ox **34.** 180 ἐκ τοῦ τῶν *ins.* Erbse *e Cyr.: om.* Σ || Τὰτ Scott-Ferguson Erbse *e Cyr. suppl.*: τὰ Σ || 182 Ὁ τοῦ—τέκνον *om.* Erbse || ἀμείωτος Cyr. Σ Pitra Scott-Ferguson: ἀσώματος Erbse || 183-184 ἴσος—εὐτακτος *ins.* Erbse *e Cyr.: om.* Σ **35.** 185 *titulum suppl.* Erbse *Cyrolli verbis* (552 D) *usus*: Ὁ δὲ Τρισημέσιος Ἑρμῆς οὕτω φθέγγεται περὶ Θεοῦ || 187 γονίμη φύσει Steuchus Nock || ἐπὶ Cyr.: ἐν Ox Chron. Cedr. Erbse

36. Καὶ μὴν καὶ Ὅρφεὺς αὐθις οὕτω πού φησι·

Οὐρανὸν ὀρκίζω σε, θεοῦ μεγάλου σοφὸν ἔργον·
αὐδὴν ὀρκίζω σε Πατρός, ἣν φθέγγετο πρώτην,
ἥνικα κόσμον ἅπαντα ἐαῖς στηρίζετο βουλαῖς.

190

Ἀὐδὴν δὲ Πατρός ἣν φθέγγετο πρώτην' τὸν μονογενῆ Λόγον αὐτοῦ φησι.

37. Ἑρμοῦ μεγίστου περὶ παντοκράτορος.

Ἀκοιμήτου πυρὸς ὄμματι ἐγγήγορε, δρόμον αἰθέρος ζωογονῶν, ἡλίου θέρμην
κρατύνων, λαίλαπι μεθιστῶν νέφη, τοῦνομα μὴ χωρῶν ἐν κόσμῳ· ἄφθιτον
ἀέναν πανεπίσκοπον ἐπιφοβὸν ὄμμα, πατέρα τῶν ὅλων, θεὸν ὄντα μόνον,
ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἔχοντα ἀρχήν, ἔγνωκα. Ἐνα μετὰ σέ ὄντα μόνον ἐκ σοῦ γεραίρω
υἷον, ὃν ῥώμῃ ἀπορρήτῳ καὶ ὀξυτέρῳ νοῦ καὶ φωνῆς ἴδιον εὐθύς ἀφθόνως
καὶ ἀπαθῶς ἀγέννητον λόγον ἐγέννησας, θεὸν ὄντα τὴν οὐσίαν ἐκ τῆς σῆς
οὐσίας, ὃς σοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἄφθαρτον καὶ πᾶν ὁμοίαν φέρει,
ὥστε εἶναι ἐκεῖνον ἐν σοί, σέ δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῳ, κάλλους ἔσοπτρον, ἀλληλ-
ευφραντὸν πρόσωπον.

195

200

37. codd. Σ χ V'M'. Fragmentum novum dubitanter rec. Nock IV, p. 147.

36. 189–191 Orph. fr. 299 Kern; cf. Ps.Iust., Coh. 15,2; Cyr., C.Iul. I,46; Malalas II, p. 27 Dindorf

36. 188 Καὶ μὴν—φησι *e* *Cyrelli verbis* (552 C) *supplevi*: καὶ ταῦτα εἰρηκῶς
ἠϋξάτο λέγων (*scil. Hermes Trismegistus*) Ox Erbse || 189 Οὐρανὸν ὀρκίζω σε
Ps.Iust., Coh. Cyr. Erbse: ὀρκίζω σέ, οὐρανέ Ox Chron. Cedr. χ || σοφόν:
σοφοῦ A" || 190–191 αὐδὴν—βουλαῖς *e* *Ps.Iust. et Cyr. supplevi* || 190 ἣν:
τὴν Ps. Iust., Coh. || πρώτην: πρῶτον Ps.Iust., Coh. || ἵλαος ἔσο· ὀρκίζω
σε, φωνὴν Πατρός, ἣν ἐφθέγγετο πρώτην, ἥνικα κόσμον ἅπαντα ἐστηρίζετο
βουλῇ Ox Chron. Cedr. Erbse ἥνικα τὸν πάντα κόσμον ἐστηρίζετο χ *capit-
ulum om.* S L' || 192 αὐδὴν Cyr.: φωνὴν Ox || φησὶν *om.* Ox Chron. ||
add. Malalas, *loc. laud.*: ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως
ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου Κυρίλλου συναχθεῖσιν ἐμφέρεται, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Τρισμέγιστος
Ἑρμῆς ἀγνοῶν τὸ μέλλον τριάδα ὁμοούσιον ὡμολόγησεν

37. 193 Ἑρμοῦ—παντοκράτορος χ: μεγίστου *om.* P Q' M' παντοκρατορίας P
Q' *titulum om.* S τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ὕμνου πρὸς τὸν παντοκράτορα Σ Ἑρμοῦ
τρισμεγίστου V' || 194–197 *verba* ἀκοιμήτου—ἔγνωκα *decurtavit, in tituli for-
mat convertit et oraculi parti secundae praeposuit* Σ: πατέρα τῶν ὅλων καὶ θεὸν
ὄντα μόνον ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἔχοντα τοῦτο ὅπερ ἔχει αἰεὶ ἔγνωκα || 196 θεὸν χ:
καὶ θεὸν Σ M' V' || 197 μετὰ σέ ὄντα μόνον χ: μετὰ σοῦ ὥστε τὸν Σ ὡς
αἵτιον V' || 198 νοῦ καὶ φωνῆς Σ V': φωνῇ χ Nock *om.* M' || 199 ἀγέννητον
Erbse: ἀγεννήτως PQ'SL' ἀπογεννήτως B' ἀγεννοῦς Σ V' *om.* M' || σῆς Σ
Pitra Scott-Ferguson: *om.* χ Nock Erbse || 200 τὴν *ante* εἰκόνα *om.* Σ M' V'
|| τὴν ἄφθαρτον *om.* χ || πανόμοιαν Pitra Nock πανόμοιον Scott-Ferguson
|| 201 εἶναι *om.* χ M' || κάλλους Σ M' Erbse: κάλλος χ καλὸν V' || 201–202
ἀλληλέφραστον PQ'S ἀνέκφραστον Pitra Scott-Ferguson

38. Πορφυρίου Πλάτωνος ἐκτιθεμένου δόξαν.

Ἄχρι γὰρ τριῶν ὑποστάσεων, ἔφη Πλάτων, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προελθεῖν οὐσίαν, εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀνωτάτω θεὸν τάγαθόν, μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ δευτερον τὸν δημιουργόν, τρίτον δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴν· ἄχρι γὰρ ψυχῆς τὴν θειότητα προελθεῖν.

39. Πλάτωνος.

Γεννητὸς οὐδεὶς ἱκανὸς γνώμης ἀφανοῦς ἰδεῖν αἰσθητήριον· φύσις γὰρ μόνου θεοῦ, ὡς αἰτίου τοῦ παντός, γυμνὴν ψυχὴν δυναμένη ἰδεῖν. Εἷς γὰρ αἴτιος τοῦ παντός, εἷς καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄλλος [ὁ εἷς] καὶ ποτε οὐτός ὁ εἷς οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ· αἰδῖος γὰρ ὁ εἷς καὶ <ἄλλος αὐτῷ> συναίδιος <καὶ οὐδὲν τούτοις συναίδιον>.

40. Ἀριστοτέλους.

Ἀκάματος φύσις θεοῦ γεννήσεως οὐκ ἔχουσα ἀρχὴν· ἐξ αὐτῆς δὲ ὁ πανσθενὴς οὐσίωται λόγος.

41. Πλουτάρχου.

Τοῦ ὑπερτάτου, τῶν ὅλων αἰτίου, προεπινοεῖται οὐδέν· ὅλος δὲ ἐξ ὅλου, ἄλλος δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὡς αὐτός, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄλλοιός καὶ μέσον οὐδέν.

42. Ἑρμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΝ λόγου τρίτου.

Εἰ μὴ πρόνοιά τις ἦν τοῦ πάντων Κυρίου ὥστε με τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀποκαλύψαι, οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔρωσ τοιοῦτος κατεῖχεν ἵνα περὶ τούτου ζητήσητε· νῦν δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ λόγου ἀκούετε. Τούτου τοῦ πνεύματος οὐ

38. 204–207 Porph., Hist. phil. IV, fr. 221, pp. 242–244 Smith; cf. Didym., De Trin. II,27; Cyr., C.Iul. I,47; VIII,271 **42.** 221–226 CH fr. 24, Nock-Festugière IV, p. 128; cf. Didym., De Trin. II,27; Cyr., C.Iul. I,49; Malalas II, p. 26 Dindorf

38. 203 Πλάτωνος ἐκτιθεμένου cf. Did. Cyr. I : ἐκτιθεμένου Πλάτωνος Σ Erbse || 204 θείου: θεοῦ Cyr. VIII || 206 τρίτον Cyr. I: τρίτην Did. Cyr. (codd. nonnulli) Σ Steuchus Erbse || δὲ καὶ: δὲ Cyr. VIII || 207 θειότητα Did. Cyr. I: θεότητα Cyr. VIII Σ Steuchus **39.** Dictum spurium aliunde ignotum || 208 Πλάτωνος V': τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σ Πλάτωνος φιλοσόφου PQ'L' φιλοσόφου om. B'ZS Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πλάτωνος Erbse || 209 γεννητὸς Σ V': γενητὸς M' γενετὸς χ || 209–210 ἰδεῖν: κατιδεῖν M' V' utroque loco || 210 γυμνὴν ψυχὴν Σ B'ZS : γνώμην ψυχῆς PQ' || δυναμένη scripsi: δυναμένου cett. || 211 ἄλλος Σ M'V': ἄλλ' οἷος ὁ B'ZS ἄλλ' υἱὸς PQ' || ὁ εἷς deleui || 212–213 αἰδῖος γὰρ ὁ εἷς καὶ συναίδιος χ V' Erbse: αἰδῖος γὰρ ὁ εἷς καὶ ἀναίδιος ὁ εἷς καὶ οὐδὲν τούτοις συναίδιον Σ αἰδῖος γὰρ ὁ εἷς καὶ συναίδιος ὁ υἱὸς καὶ οὐδὲν τούτοις συναίδιον Scott-Ferguson, sed omnia incerta **40.** Dictum spurium aliunde ignotum || 215 γεννήσεως Σ π M' V': γενέσεως χ **41.** Dictum spurium aliunde ignotum || 219 ἄλλοιός V' Erbse: ἀλλοίως Σ **42.** 221 με Cyr.: μοι Did. Ox Chron. || 222 νῦν ἔρωσ τοιοῦτος Cyr.: τοιοῦτος ἔρωσ Did. Ox Chron. Cedr. τοσοῦτος ἔρωσ Scott-Ferguson || 223 ζητήσητε Cyr.: ζητήσετε Ox ζητήσεται Chron. ζητήσατε Dindorf

πολλάκις προείπον, πάντα χρήζει· τὰ πάντα βαστάζον, κατ' ἀξίαν τὰ πάντα ζωοποιεῖ καὶ τρέφει, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγίας πηγῆς ἐξήρηται, ἐπίκουρον πνεῦμα καὶ ζωῆς ἅπασιν αἰεὶ ὑπάρχον γόνιμον, ἐν ὄν. 225

43. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου.

Ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ ἐκπορεύεται παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ πάντα (ε).

44. Ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Κορινθίους α' ἐπιστολῆς Παύλου τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου. 230

Ἐκάστῳ δὲ δίδεται ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ δίδεται διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλω δὲ λόγος γνώσεως κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, ἐτέρῳ δὲ πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι, ἄλλω δὲ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ πνεύματι, ἄλλω δὲ ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, ἄλλω δὲ προφητεία, ἄλλω δὲ διακρίσεις πνευμάτων, ἐτέρῳ δὲ ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν· πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα διαιροῦν ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ καθὼς βούλεται (f). 235

45. Τοῦ ἀγίου Κυρίλλου ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐκ τῆς γραφείσης παρ' αὐτοῦ α' βίβλου ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΘΡΗΣΚΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΟΥ ἐρμηνεία πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν Πλάτωνος διὰ Πορφυρίου καὶ Ἑρμοῦ. 240

46. Ἄνω μὲν γὰρ ἐκ νοῦ, καθάπερ ἐγῶμαι, φησὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ ὡς φῶς ἐκ φωτός· μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὡς πάντα περιέχοντος· οὔτε δὲ ἄγγελον, οὔτε δαίμονα, οὔτε μὴν ἐτέραν τινὰ φύσιν ἢ οὐσίαν ἔξω κείσθαι φησι τῆς θείας ὑπεροχῆς ἥγουν ἐξουσίας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῇ τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' αὐτὴν εἶναι διορίζεται. 245

43-45. cod. Σ

46. 242-246 Cyr., C.Iul. I,49, p. 204 Burguière

e) Io. 16,13 + 14,26 f) I Cor. 12,7-11

223-226 νῦν δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ—ἐν ὄν om. Ox || 224 τὰ πάντα βαστάζον Cyr.: πάντα γὰρ βαστάζον Σ πάντα γὰρ βαστάζον Erbse τὰ πάντα γὰρ βαστάζον Did. Nock τὰ πάντα γὰρ βαστάζον Steuchus || 226 πνεῦμα *scripsi*: πνεύμασι Did. Steuchus Nock Burguière πνεύματι Cyr. πνεῦμα ἦν Σ Erbse || ζωῆς: ζῳίς Steuchus **45.** 239-240 Ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας καὶ κατὰ Ἰουλιανὸν τοῦ παραβάτου *Cyriilli contra Iulianum operis titulum fortasse genuinum praebet* Σ: Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὐαγοῦς θρησκείας πρὸς τὰ τοῦ ἐν ἀθέοις Ἰουλιανοῦ *cell.* **46.** 242 ἐγὼ οἶμαι Σ || τὸν Υἱὸν φησὶ Σ || ὡς om. Σ || 243 ὡς πάντα: τοῦ πάντα Σ || 243-244 οὐδὲ ἄγγελον οὐδὲ δαίμονα Σ || 244 ἔξω κείσθαι om. Σ

47. Καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα πρὸς τὰ Πλάτωνος·

Ἴδου δὴ σαφῶς ἐν τούτοις ἄχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προελθεῖν οὐσίαν ἰσχυρίζεται· εἰς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεός, κατευρύνεται δὲ ὡς περὶ αὐτοῦ γνῶσις εἰς ἁγίαν τε καὶ ὁμοούσιον Τριάδα, εἰς τε 250 Πατέρα φημι καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ὃ καὶ ἑνυχὴν τοῦ κόσμου· φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων· ζωοποιεῖ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ πρόεισιν ἐκ ζῶντος Πατρός δι' Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν.

48. Καὶ αὐθις πρὸς τὰ Ἑρμοῦ ΔΙΕΞΟΔΙΚΑ τοῦ αὐτοῦ·

Σημαίνει δὲ, οἶμαι, διὰ γε τουτουῦ τὸν Πατέρα. Ἀπόχρη μὲν οὖν ταυτὶ πρὸς 255 ἐντελεστατήν ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ, ὅτι τὸν μονογενῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον ἐννεοήκασι καὶ αὐτοί.

49. Καὶ πάλιν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἑρμοῦ <ἐκ τοῦ> ΠΡΟΣ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΝ λόγου τρίτου.

Οἶδεν οὖν αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπάρχον ἰδιοσυστάτως, καὶ τὰ πάντα ζωοποιοῦν καὶ 260 τρέφον, καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἁγίας πηγῆς ἡρτημένον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός. Πρόεισι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ χορηγεῖται τῇ κτίσει.

50. Σόλωνος Ἀθηναίου τοῦ νομοθέτου περὶ λόγου ἐγκωμίου ἀπόφθεγμα.

Ὅσέ ποτέ τις ἐπὶ τὴν πολυσχιδῇ ταύτῃ ἐλάσει γῆν καὶ διὰ πετάσματος 265 σὰρξ γενήσεται· ἀκαμάτοις τε θεότητος ὅροις ἀνιάτων παθῶν λύσει φθοράν· κατὰ τούτου φθόνος ἀπίστω γενήσεται λαῶ καὶ πρὸς ὕψος κρεμασθεὶς ὡς θανάτου κατὰδικος πραεῶς πείσεται παρ' αὐτῶν, θανῶν δὲ εἰς πόλον ἀρθήσεται.

47. 248–253 Cyr., C.Iul. I,47, p. 200 Burguière 48. 255–257 Cyr., C.Iul. I,46–47, p. 200 Burguière 49. 260–262 Cyr., C.Iul. I,49, pp. 204–206 Burguière

47. 247 Καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα πρὸς τὰ Πλάτωνος Σ || 248 τούτοις ἄχρι: ἀρχὴ διὰ Σ || 249 ἐστὶν *om.* Σ || 251 ἅγιον Πνεῦμα: Πνεῦμα ἀληθείας Σ || δ: ἦν Σ || 253 *cf.* Act. 17,28 48. 254 Καὶ αὐθις—τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σ || 255 ταυτὶ πρὸς: ὥστε ταύτην ὡς Σ 49. 258–259 Καὶ πάλιν—τρίτου Σ || 258 ἐκ τοῦ *inserui*: *om.* Σ || 260 Οἶδε μὲν οὖν Σ 50. Dictum spurium aliunde ignotum || 263 Σόλωνος *em.* Erbse: Σόλωνος Σ τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Πλάτωνος) Β' Πλάτωνα Cath. || 264 τις *om.* Σ || πολυσχιδῇ Cath. Pitra Bratke Erbse: πολυσχεδῇ Σ χ π Pers. || ταύτην *om.* Σ || ἐλάσει Σ Erbse: ἐλάσειε *cell.* || διὰ πετάσματος Σ Pers.: δίχα σφάλματος χ π E Cath. Pitra Bratke Erbse || 265 τε Σ: δὲ Erbse *om. cell.* || 266 κατὰ τούτου Σ: καὶ τούτου P τοῦτο Β' Q' τούτῳ S Pitra Erbse || φθόνον Σ || ἐγέννησε Σ || ἀπίστω λαῶ Σ: ἐξ ἀπίστου λαοῦ Β' Erbse ἀπίστου λαοῦ Pitra λαοῦ π || κρεμασθεὶς Σ π Pers.: κρεμασθήσεται χ Cath. Pitra Bratke Erbse || 267 *post* κατὰδικος *add.* καὶ πάντα Erbse πάντα Β' π ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐκὼν προσπείσεται φέρων Pitra || πραεῶς Σ P Q': πράως S πράσας Β' || παρ' αὐτῶν Σ Pers.: *om. cell.* || φέρειν *add.* Cath. Bratke || 267–268 θανῶν—ἀρθήσεται Pitra

51. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου.

Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν
δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός, πλήρης χάριτος καὶ
ἀληθείας (g). 270

52. Ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς.

Ἔχοντες οὖν, ἀδελφοί, παρρησίαν εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ αἵματι
Ἰησοῦ, ἣν ἐνεκαίνισεν ἡμῖν ὁδὸν πρόσφατον καὶ ζῶσαν διὰ τοῦ κατα- 275
πετάσματος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἱερέα μέγαν ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον
τοῦ θεοῦ, προσερχώμεθα μετὰ ἀληθινῆς καρδίας ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως
ῥεραντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς καὶ λελουσμένοι τὸ
σῶμα ὕδατι καθαρῷ· κατέχωμεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀκλινῇ (h).

53. Πλάτωνος.

Ὁ παλαιὸς νέος καὶ ὁ νέος ἀρχαῖος· ὁ πατήρ γόνος καὶ ὁ γόνος πατήρ· τὸ
ἐν τρία καὶ τὰ τρία ἐν, ἄσαρκον σαρκικόν· γῆ τέτοκε τὸν οὐρανοῦ γεννήτορα.
Θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν χαλεπὸν, φράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον· ἔστι γὰρ τρισυπόστατος,
ἀνερμήνευτος οὐσία καὶ φύσις, οὐκ ἔχουσα παρὰ βροτοῖς ἐξομοίωσιν· οὓς
δὲ θεοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν ἄνθρωποι, πολλὸ τὸ μυθῶδες καὶ σφαλερὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς 285
ἐπεσπᾶσαντο.

54. Σοφοκλέους.

Εἰς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἷς ἐστὶν θεός,
ὃς οὐρανὸν τ' ἔτευξε καὶ γαίαν μακρὰν,
πόντου τε χαροπὸν οἶδμα, κἀνέμων βίας. 290

54. 288–296 Ps. Sophocles, TrGF adesp. 618 Kannicht-Snell; cf. Clem. Al., Protr. VII,74,2; Clem. Al., Strom. V,14, 113,2; Ps.Iust., Mon. 2,2; Ps.Iust., Coh. 18,2; Eus., P.E. XIII,13,40; Cyr., C.Iul. I,44; Thdrt., Graec. aff. cur. VII,46; Malalas II, pp. 40–41 Dindorf. Versus oraculi oratione pedestri a scriptoribus et in codicibus byzantinis redditū sunt.

g) Io. 1,14

h) Hebr. 10,19–23

53. Dictum spurium aliunde ignotum; aliam sententiam theologicam de Trinitate attribuit Platoni comico Didym., De Trin. II,27 (PCG fr. 302).
|| 280 Πλάτωνος πμ: *verba* ὁ παλαιὸς—πατήρ *Plutarcho*, *verba* τὸ ἐν—γεννήτορα *Thucydidi attr.* χ || 281 ὁ παλαιὸς—ἀρχαῖος *om.* W || ὁ γόνος πατήρ καὶ ὁ πατήρ γόνος W || 282 τὰ τρία ἐν, ἐν τρία W || σαρκικόν: προσωπικόν χ || ἄσαρκος σαρκικός γῆν τέτοκε τῶν οὐρανῶν γεννήτορ E || 283–284 Θεὸν νοῆσαι—ἐξομοίωσιν E N Art. || Θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν χαλεπὸν, φράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον: cf. CH, Exc. I,1 *ap.* Stob., Anth. II,1,26; Ps.Iust., Coh. 38,2; Greg. Naz., Or. 28,4; Cyr., C.Iul. I, 43 || 284–286 οὓς δὲ θεοὺς—ἐπεσπᾶσαντο *ex* Art. Pass. 28 *supplevi* 54. Fragmentum addubitatum || 288 εἰς ταῖς: ἐν ταῖς Cyr. (*codd. nonnulli*) *om.* Ox Cath. || ὡς ἓνα τῆς Y || ἀληθείας εἶναι Ox Y || 289 τ' ἔτευξε: τέτευχε A" Ps.Iust., Mon. s. Cedr. τέτευξαι B || μακρὴν Clem. Eus. || 290 δὲ χαροπὸν Ox τε χαροπὸν Dindorf || κἀνέμων Sylburg || βίαν Clem., Strom. βία B

- Θνητοὶ δὲ πολλοὶ καρδίᾳ πλανώμενοι
 5 ἰδρυσάμεσθα πημάτων παραψυχὰς
 θεῶν ἀγάλαματ' ἐκ λίθων τε καὶ ξύλων,
 ἢ χρυσοτεύκτων ἢ ἐλεφαντίνων τύπους,
 θυσίας τε τούτοις καὶ κενὰς πανηγύρεις
 τεύχοντες, οὕτως εὐσεβεῖν νομίζομεν. 295

55. Ὅστανον φιλοσόφου περὶ τῆς θεοτόκου.

Τιμήσωμεν τὴν Μαρίαν ὡς καλῶς κρύψασαν τὸ μυστήριον.

56. Μενάνδρου.

Θεὸν σέβου καὶ μάνθανε, μὴ ζήτηι δὲ τίς ἐστὶν ἢ πῶς ἐστὶν· εἴτε γὰρ ἔστιν 300
 εἴτε οὐκ ἔστιν, ὡς ὄντα τοῦτον καὶ σέβου καὶ μάνθανε· ἀσεβῆς γὰρ τὸν
 νοῦν ὁ θέλων μανθάνειν θεόν.

56. codd. thesauri π et cod. E; cf. Didym., De Trin. III,2; Comp. Menandri et Philistionis, II, 77–82, p. 106 Jaekel

291 πολλοὶ Ps.Iust. Clem. Cyr. A" Ὑ πολλὰ P" Erbse πολὺ Ps.Iust., Mon.
 s Ox Cath. || καρδίᾳ Clem., Protr. Ps.Iust., Coh. Cyr. Ox A" καρδίαν
 Ps.Iust., Mon. q Clem., Strom. Eus. Thdr. || 292 ἰδρυσάμεσθα Cyr.:
 ἰδρυσάμεθα B Erbse ἰδυσάμεθα Ox || πημάτων Ox || παραψυχὰς Ps.Iust.,
 Mon. Cyr. Ox Cath.: παραψυχὴν Clem. Ps.Iust. Coh. Eus. παρὰ ψυχὴν A"
 || 293 θεῶ Ox || τε καὶ ξύλων Ps.Iust., Coh. Cyr. A" Steuchus τε om. Ox
 Cath. Y: ἢ χαλκῶν Ps.Iust., Mon. Clem. Eus. Thdr. || 295 κενὰς Clem.,
 Protr. Cyr. Ox B: καινὰς Cath. καλὰς Ps.Iust. Thdr. Cedr. A" Steuchus
 κακὰς Clem., Strom. Eus. κοινὰς Y || 296 τεύχοντες Ps.Iust. Cyr. Ox Cedr.
 A": στέφοντες Clem., Strom. Eus. νέμοντες Clem., Protr. || οὕτως om. Ox
 Y 55. Dictum spurium aliunde ignotum: cf. fr. A 12 Bidez-Cumont ||
 297 ὁσάνου em. Bentley: ἀσάνου B' ισάνου Q' || φιλοσόφου Q': om. B'
 || περὶ τῆς θεοτόκου om. Q' || 298 τιμήσωμεν Bidez-Cumont: τιμήσομεν Q'
 Erbse || μαρίαν Q' Erbse: μαριάμ B' Bidez-Cumont 56. 302 θεὸν: περὶ
 θεοῦ E

⟨BIBAION Γ'⟩

ΧΡΗΣΜΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΙΒΥΛΛΩΝ)

Fragm. A

I

1. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν προσφάτων λόγων ἢ παρὰθεσις τῶν παλαιῶν ἱκανωτέρα πρὸς τὰς ἐναντιώσεις ἐστίν, οὐ πρὸς μονοειδῆ τινα μαρτυρίαν τὸ βιβλίον φέρειν σπουδάζω, πολυχουστέραν δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ποικιλωτέραν 5 τὴν περὶ τῆς πραγματείας ἀπόδειξιν ποιούμενος.

2. Σίβυλλαι τοίνυν, ὥς πολλοὶ ἔγραψαν, γεγονάσιν ἐν διαφόροις τόποις καὶ χρόνοις τὸν ἀριθμὸν δέκα. Σίβυλλα δὲ Ῥωμαϊκὴ λέξις, ἐρμηνευομένη προφήτης εἶτ' οὖν μάντις· ὅθεν ἐνὶ ὀνόματι αἱ θήλειαι μάντιδες 10 ὠνομάσθησαν.

3. Πρώτη οὖν ἡ Χαλδαία εἶτ' οὖν ἡ Περσὶς ἢ κυρίῳ ὀνόματι καλουμένη Σαμβήθη ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Νῶε, ἢ τὰ κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα λεγομένη προειρηκέναι, ἥς μνημονεύει Νικάνωρ ὁ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου βίον ἱστορήσας. Δευτέρα ἡ Λίβυσσα, ἥς μνήμην ἐποιήσατο 15 Εὐρυπίδης ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ τῆς ΛΑΜΙΑΣ. Τρίτη ἡ Δελφίς ἢ ἐν Δελφοῖς τεχθεῖσα,

3. 13 Nicanor, FG^rHist 146,1; 15 Euripides, TrGF pp. 506–507 Nauck-Snell; 16 Chrysippus, De divinatione (cf. Lact., Div. Inst. I,6 = SVF II, 1216); 19–20 Apollodorus Erythr., FG^rHist 422,1; 21 Eratosthenes, FG^rHist 241,26; 22 Verg., Aen. VI,35–36; 26 Heraclides Pont., fr. 131c Wehrli

1–2. BIBAION Γ' ΧΡΗΣΜΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΙΒΥΛΛΩΝ *planitatis causa inserui; titulum* ἐκ τῶν Φιρμιανοῦ Λακταντίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου περὶ Σιβύλλης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν *spiritum esse recte cont.* M^ras

1. 3 *lac. ante verba* ἐπειδὴ δὲ κτλ. *nequiquam susp.* M^ras Erbse || 6 ποιούμενος *scripsi*: ποιούμενον D λ M^ras Erbse 2. 7–10 Σίβυλλαι τοίνυν—δέκα. Σίβυλλα—ὠνομάσθησαν D λ Erbse: Σίβυλλα—ὠνομάσθησαν. Σίβυλλαι τοίνυν—δέκα Geffcken Ὅτι τὸ Σίβυλλα ὄνομα Ῥωμαῖστὶ τὴν προφήτην δηλοῖ· ὅθεν ἐνὶ ὀνόματι αἱ θήλειαι μάντις πᾶσαι ὠνομάσθησαν T || 7–8 τόποις καὶ χρόνοις D λ Erbse: χρόνοις καὶ τόποις Φ Su. O Geffcken || 9 εἶτ' οὖν D λ Erbse: ἤγουν Φ Su. O Geffcken 3. 11 εἶτ' οὖν ἢ D λ Erbse: ἤγουν Φ Geffcken ἢ καὶ Su. O || κυρίως Φ || 12 γένους D λ Erbse: γένους οὐσα Φ Geffcken || κατ' D λ Erbse: κατὰ Φ O Geffcken || 13 Νικάνωρ: ἱκανῶς Φ || 14 ἢ *ante* Λίβυσσα Su. O: *om.* D Φ schol. || 15 ἢ *ante* Δελφίς O: *om.* D Φ Su. schol.

περὶ ἧς εἶπε Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ ΠΕΡΙ ΘΕΟΤΗΤΟΣ βιβλίῳ. Τετάρτη ἡ Ἰταλικὴ ἡ ἐν Κιμμερίᾳ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἧς υἱὸς ἐγένετο Εὐάνδρος ὁ τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Πανὸς ἱερὸν τὸ καλούμενον Λουπέρκιον κτίσας. Πέμπτη ἡ Ἐρυθραία ἡ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ προειρηκυῖα πολέμου, περὶ ἧς Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος διαβεβαιοῦται. Ἔκτη ἡ Σαμία ἡ κυρίῳ ὀνόματι καλουμένη Φοιτῶ, περὶ ἧς ἔγραψεν Ἑρατοσθένης. Ἐβδόμη ἡ Κυμαία ἡ λεγομένη Ἀμάλθεια, ἡ καὶ Ἥροφίλη, παρὰ τισι δὲ Ταραξάνδρα· Βεργίλιος δὲ τὴν Κυμαίαν Δηιφόβην καλεῖ, Γλαύκου θυγατέρα. Ὀγδόη ἡ Ἑλλησποντία τεχθεῖσα ἐν κόμῃ Μαρμησῶ περὶ τὴν πολίχνην Γεργίθιον, ἥτις ἐνορία ποτὲ Τρωάδος ἐτύγγανεν, ἐν καιροῖς Σόλωνος καὶ Κύρου, ὡς ἔγραψεν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός. Ἐνάτη ἡ Φρυγία, πολλῶ πρότερον τῆς Ἑλλησποντίας, καὶ αὕτη χρησιμώδης. Δεκάτη ἡ Τιβουρτία ὀνόματι Ἀλβουναία, καὶ αὕτη πολλῶ πρότερον.

4. Φασὶ δέ, ὡς ἡ Κυμαία ἐννέα βιβλία χρησμῶν ἰδίων προσεκόμισε Ταρκυνίῳ Πρίσκῳ τῷ τηνικαῦτα βασιλεύοντι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν πραγμάτων τριακοσίους φιλιππίους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ζητοῦσα. Καταφρονηθεῖσα δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐρωτηθεῖσα τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς περιεχόμενα, πυρὶ παρέδωκεν ἐξ αὐτῶν τρία. Αὐθις δὲ ἐν ἐτέρᾳ προσόδῳ τοῦ βασιλέως προσήνεγκε τὰ ἔξ

16 περὶ θεότητος: *perperam titulum Chrysippi operis 'De divinatione' ex Latino in Graecum sermonem vertit* || ἡ *ante* Ἰταλικὴ Φ: *om. cett.* || 17 Κιμμερία D λ Su. O Geffcken Erbse: μερία Φ ἐρημία schol. || 18 λουπέρκιον Mras Erbse: λουπερκί D λ λούπερκον Φ schol. Geffcken *om.* Su. O λουπερκάλιον Maass || ἡ *ante* Ἐρυθραία Φ schol.: *om.* D λ O Su. || 20 ἡ *ante* Σαμία Φ schol.: *om.* D λ O Su. || 21 Φοιτῶ D λ T Erbse: φυντῶ Φ O Su. schol. Geffcken || 22 Ἀμάλθεια schol. T Geffcken Erbse: ἀμαλθεία O ἀμαλθία D λ Φ ἀμαλθαία Su. || Ἥροφίλη Erbse: ἱεροφίλη D λ O ἐροφίλη Su. Geffcken ἐρωφίλην schol. || Ταραξάνδρα λ Geffcken Erbse: παραξάνδρα D W' || Βιργίλιος W' Βεργίλιος S' παρὰ Βεργιλίῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ T || 23 διηφόβης W' διηφόβους S' διυφόβην λ || 24 κόμη: κύμη D λ || Μαρμησῶ D Geffcken Erbse (*Marmesso* Lact.): μαρμήσσω Su. μαρμισσῶ schol. μαρμίσω S' μαρσίσω W' μαρπεσσῶ Maass Wehrli *om.* λ || πολίχνην Geffcken Mras Erbse: τι πολίχνην λ || Γεργίθιον Erbse Wehrli (*Gergithium* Brandt): *Gergithum* Maass γεργίτιον D λ γεργιτίονα Φ Geffcken γεργετίονα schol. γεργίτων O γεργίτιον *malit* Mras (*Gergithum* Lact.) || 24–25 ἥτις ἐνορία ποτὲ Τρωάδος ἐτύγγανεν Φ Geffcken *sim.* schol. Mras: αἱ τῆς ἐνορίας ποτὲ τῆς Τρωάδος ἐτύγγανον D λ Su. Erbse || 26 ἡ *ante* Φρυγία Φ schol.: *om.* D O Su. || 26–27 πολλῶ—χρησιμώδης D λ Erbse: *om.* O Su. schol. Geffcken || 27 Τιβουρτία D λ schol. Geffcken Erbse: τιγουρτία Φ Su. τιγούρτη O αἰγυπτία T || Ἀλβουναία schol. Mras Erbse (*Albunea* Lact.): ἀμμουναία D λ ἄβουναία Φ O Su. T Geffcken || 28 καὶ αὕτη—πρότερον D λ: *om. cett.* 4–5. Vide Lact., Div. Inst. I,6,10–11 4. 29 προσεκόμισε: προεκόμισεν D λ || 30 πρίσκῳ: πρίσκυνι D λ || 31 φιλιππίους T Alexandre Geffcken Erbse: φιλιππαίους D λ Φ *om. cett.* || ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Φ T Geffcken Erbse: ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῆς D λ || ζητοῦσα T Erbse: ζητήσασα D Φ Geffcken || 32 οὐκ T Geffcken Erbse: οὔτε D λ Φ || τίνα ἐστὶ Φ Geffcken Erbse: εἰσὶ D λ τίνα ταῦτα ἐστὶ T || 33 προσόδῳ *em.* Alexandre (προσελθοῦσα Io. Lyd., De mens. IV,47): προόδῳ D λ Φ προήνεγκε D λ

βιβλία τὴν αὐτὴν ὁλκὴν ἐπιζητοῦσα. Οὐκ ἀξιοθεῖσα δὲ λόγου πάλιν ἔκαυσεν ἄλλα τρία. Εἴτα ἐκ τρίτου ἐπιφερομένη τὰ περιλειφθέντα τρία προσήλθεν αἰτούσα οὐδὲν ἦττον τὸ αὐτὸ τίμημα καὶ λέγουσα, εἰ μὴ λάβοι, καίειν καὶ αὐτά. 35

5. Τότε, φασίν, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐντυχὼν αὐτοῖς καὶ θαυμάσας ἔδωκε μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν φιλιππίους καὶ ἑκομίσαιο αὐτά, παρεκάλει δὲ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕξ· τῆς δὲ ἀπαγγειλᾶσης μήτε τὰ ἴσα τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων ἔχειν μήτε τι δίχα ἐνθουσιασμοῦ τοιοῦτον εἰδέναι, ἔσθ' ὅτε δέ τινας ἐκ διαφόρων πόλεων καὶ χωρίων ἐξεληφέναι τὰ νομισθέντα αὐτοῖς ἀναγκαῖα καὶ ἐπαφελῇ καὶ δεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν συναγωγὴν ποιήσασθαι, τοῦτο τάχιστα πεποίηκε. 40

6. Τὸ γὰρ ἐκ θεοῦ δοθὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς μυχῶ κείμενον οὐκ ἔλαθεν. Ἀνατέλλει δὲ πρόπαρ ἄλλων καὶ πασῶν τῶν Σιβυλλῶν τὰ βιβλία <ᾧ> ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τοῦ Καπετωλίου τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ἀπετέθησαν, τῶν μὲν τῆς Κυμαίας κατακρυφθέντων καὶ οὐ διαδοθέντων εἰς πολλούς, ἐπειδὴ τὰ συμβησόμενα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἰδικώτερον καὶ τρανότερον προανεφώνησεν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων γνωσθέντων ἅπασιν. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἐρυθραίας προγεγραμμένον ἔχει τοῦτο τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου ἐπικεκλημένον αὐτῇ ὄνομα· τὰ δέ γε ἄλλα οὐκ ἐπιγραφέντα, ποῖα ποίας εἰσὶν, ἀδιάκριτα καθέστηκε. 45 50

7. Φιρμιανὸς τοίνυν, οὐκ ἀθαύμαστος φιλόσοφος καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ προλεχθέντος Καπετωλίου γενόμενος, πρὸς τὸ αἰώνιον ἡμῶν φῶς, τὸν Χριστόν, βλέψας ἐν ἰδίῳ πονήμασι τὰ εἰρημένα ταῖς Σιβύλλαις περὶ τῆς ἀρρήτου δόξης παρέθηκε καὶ τὴν ἀλογίαν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ὑπολήψεως καὶ ἀντιδοξίας δυνατῶς ἀπῆλεξεν. Καὶ ἔστιν ἡ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔντονος ἐξήγησις τῇ Αὐσονίᾳ γλώττῃ, οἱ δὲ Σιβυλλιακοὶ στίχοι Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ, ὡς καὶ ἐξηγέθη- 55

34 ἐπιζητοῦσα Erbse: ζητοῦσα T ἐπιζητήσασα Φ Geffcken ἐπερωτήσασα D λ || 36 οὐδὲν ἦττον *et* καὶ *ante* λέγουσα D λ Erbse: *om.* Φ Geffcken 5. 38 φασίν Φ Geffcken Erbse: φησίν D λ || 39 φιλιππαίους D λ || 40 ἕξ D λ Erbse: *om.* Φ Geffcken || τῆς D λ Erbse: αὐτῆς Φ Geffcken || 41 εἰδέναι Φ Geffcken Erbse: εἶναι D λ || 42 αὐτοῖς Φ T Geffcken Erbse: αὐταῖς D λ || 43 πεποίηκε D λ Erbse: καὶ πεποίηκασι Φ Geffcken 6. 44-46 ἀνατέλλει—ἀπετέθησαν D λ Erbse: ᾧ *ins.* Mras πασῶν δὲ τῶν σιβυλλῶν τὰ βιβλία ἀπετέθησαν ἐν τῷ καπιτωλίῳ Ῥώμης τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Φ Geffcken || 47 κατακρυφθέντων D λ Erbse: κατακρυφθέντων Φ Geffcken || 48 ἰδικώτερον καὶ τρανότερον προανεφώνησεν D λ Erbse: ἰδικώτερα καὶ τρανότερον (τρανώτερον Φ) ἀνεφώνησε (ἀνεφώνησεν S') Geffcken || 49 προγεγραμμένον D λ Erbse: προγεγραμμένα Φ Geffcken || 50 τὸ D λ T Erbse: *om. cett.* || 51 ἐπιγραφέντα Buresch Erbse: ἐπιγράφοντα D λ T ἐπιγράφονται Φ Geffcken || ποῖα D λ Erbse: ποῖα Geffcken || ποίας: ποίοις S' || δὲ *post* ἀδιάκριτα Φ Geffcken || καθέστηκε: καθέστησα W' 7. 53 φῶς Φ Geffcken Erbse: ὄφελος D λ || 54 πονήμασι: ποιήμασι λ || 55 τῆς ἀλογίας W' || 55-56 ὑπολήψεως καὶ ἀντιδοξίας D λ Erbse: πλάνης Φ Geffcken || 56 δυνατῶς *om.* Erbse || ἔστιν *om.* Φ Geffcken || 57 ὡς καὶ *om.* Φ Geffcken

σαν. Ἵνα δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ἄπιστον φαίνεται, μαρτυρίαν τοῦ μνημονευθέντος πολυμαθοῦς ἀνδρὸς παρέξομαι ἔχουσαν τόνδε τὸν τρόπον·

8. Harum omnium Sibyllarum carmina et feruntur et habentur, 60
praeterquam Cymaeae, cuius libri a Romanis occultantur nec eos
ab ullo nisi <a quindecimuiris inspicere fas habent. Et sunt singularum
singuli libri: quos, quia Sibyllae nomine inscribuntur, unius esse cre-
dunt, suntque confusi nec discerni ac suum cuique adsignari potest 65
nisi Erythraeae, quae et nomen suum uerum carmini inseruit et
Erythraeam se nominatui praelocuta est, cum esset orta Babylone.
Sed et nos confuse Sibyllam dicemus, sicubi testimoniis earum fuerit
abutendum>.

9. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν εὕρισκόμενα Σιβυλλιακὰ οὐ μόνον ὡς εὐπόριστα 70
παρὰ τοῖς νοσοῦσι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐκαταφρόνητά ἐστιν—τὰ γὰρ σπά-
νια τίμια δοκεῖ—, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πάντων τῶν στίχων μὴ σφζόντων τὴν
ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ μέτρου ἀγροτέραν ἔχει τὴν πίστιν—αἰτία δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν
ταχυγράφων οὐ συμφθασάντων τῇ ῥύμῃ τοῦ λόγου ἢ καὶ ἀπαιδεύτων
γενομένων, οὐ τῆς προφήτιδος· ἅμα γὰρ τῇ ἐπιπνοίᾳ ἐπέπαιον τῶν λεχθέντων 75
ἢ μνήμη· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο βλέψας ὁ Πλάτων ἔφη· ὅταν κατορθῶσι
<λέγοντες> πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράγματα, μηδὲν εἰδότες ὧν λέγουσιν—,

8. 60–68 Lact., Div. Inst. I,6,13–14, pp. 22–23 Brandt. Verba Lactantii genuina 'Harum—nisi' in solo codice D leguntur, cuius in margine verba haecce scripta sunt: 'verba Lactantii cap. VI de falsa religione feruntur extr.'. Verba 'a quindecimuiris inspicere fas habent' suppl. Erbse, sed auctorem Theosophiae totum caput in testimonium adduxisse suspicari licet
9. 71–76 Ps. Iust., Coh. 37, 2–3; 75–76 Plat., Men. 99 d 4–5; 80 Aesch., Arm. iud, TrGF 176 Radt. Capita 9–12 falso Lactantio attribuit Brandt, in CSEL 27, pp. 158–160 (fragm. VIII spurium)

58 μνημονευθέντος D λ: προμνημονευθέντος *cett.* || 59 πολυμαθοῦς D λ Erbse: *om. cett.* || *post* τόνδε τὸν τρόπον *lac. quattuor linearum continet λ, sex autem lineae vacant in λ* 8. 60 feruntur Lact.: *eiuntur* D || 61 cymaeae Lact.: *cum. D Lact. (codd. HMPV) || libri a Lact.: libraria D || occultantur Lact. (cod. M) Brandt Monat: occultuntur Lact. (codd. PV) D Erbse absconduntur Lact. (codd. cett.)* 9. 70 νοσοῦσι D λ Φ Brandt Mras: νοοῦσι *coni.* Rzsch Geffcken Erbse Riedweg || τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων W: τὰ Ἑλλήνων Geffcken τῶν Ἑλλήνων D λ Brandt Mras Erbse || τοῖς νοσοῦσι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων: *de morbo paganismi vide Theodoretī opus Ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικῆς παθημάτων* || 72 ἀγροτέραν *scripsi: ἀργοτέραν cett.* || 72–73 αὐτῶν τῶν ταχυγράφων Erbse: αὐτῶν ταχυγράφων D λ αὕτη τῶν ταχυγράφων Φ Geffcken || 74 *post* γενομένων *add. Lyd. O Su. καὶ ἀπείρων γραμματικῶν* || 74–75 τῶν λεχθέντων ἢ μνήμη D λ Erbse: ἢ τῶν λεχθέντων μνήμη *cett.* || 75 καὶ—ἔφη D λ Erbse: πρὸς ἃ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων βλέψας ἔφη Φ Geffcken || ὅταν κατορθῶσι Plat. Ps.Iust.: κατορθώσωσι D λ Erbse ὅτι κατορθώσουσι Φ Geffcken || 76 λέγοντες *e Platone suppl.* Erbse

διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἐκ τῶν κομισθέντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ ληφθέντων ὕστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπετωλίου παραθέσομαι νῦν ὅς' ἂν συνειδῶ. Καὶ γὰρ Αἰσχύλος ἀπεφίνατο εἰπών·

ἀπλᾶ γὰρ ἐστί τῆς ἀληθείας ἔπη.

80

10. Ἐμαρτύρησε τοίνυν ἡ <Σίβυλλα> περὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνάρχου θεοῦ ταῦτα·

Εἷς θεός, ὃς μόνος ἄρχει, ὑπερμεγέθης, ἀγέννητος.

11. <Καὶ> τῷ τῆς θεολογίας λόγῳ προσαποδιδούσα τὸν τῆς κοσμογενείας τῷ ἀρρητοτάτῳ καὶ τεχνικωτάτῳ τούτῳ θεῷ τὸ πᾶν ἔδωκεν εἰπούσα·

Ἄλλὰ θεὸς μόνος εἷς πανυπέρτατος, ὃς πεποίηκεν

85

οὐρανὸν ἡέλιόν τε καὶ ἀστέρας ἠδὲ σελήνην

καρποφόρον γαίαν τε καὶ ὕδατος οἷδατα πόντου,

ὃς μόνος ἐστί θεὸς κτίστης, ἀκράτητος ὑπάρχων,

αὐτὸς στήριξεν μερόπων μορφήν τε τύπον τε

<καὶ θήρας ποίησε καὶ ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετεηνά.>

90

Αὐτὸς ἔμιξε φύσιν πάντων, γενέτης βίοτιοι.

12. ἔμιξε δὲ φύσιν πάντων, καθὼ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ γυνὴ ἐπλάσθη καὶ καθὼ συνερχόμενοι εἰς σάρκα μίαν πατέρες γίνονται καὶ

10. 82 Orac. Sib. fr. 1,7 Geffcken; cf. Theoph., Ad Autol. II,36; Lact., Div. Inst. I,6,15; Ps.Iust., Coh. 16,1 **11.** 85–91 Orac. Sib. fr. 3,3–5+ fr. 5 Geffcken; cf. Theoph., Ad Autol. II,36; Lact., Div. Inst. I,6,15; II,11,18

77–79 διὰ τοῦτο—συνειδῶ (ῥα συνειδῶ D λ) Mras Erbse: ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐκ τῶν κομισθέντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβεων ῥα δυνατόν παραθήσομαι Φ Geffcken || 79 καὶ γὰρ Αἰσχύλος Erbse: καὶ Αἰσχύλος γὰρ D λ || 79–80 αἰσχύλος ὅπλα γὰρ ἐστί τῆς ἀληθείας ἔπη D mg. καὶ γὰρ—ἔπη om. Φ Geffcken || 80 ἀπλᾶ em. Mras: ὅπλα D λ **10.** 81 ἐμαρτύρησε—ταῦτα Erbse (τοιαῦτα λ): σίβυλλα om. D λ Φ Geffcken suppl. Mras σίβυλλα θεολόγος D mg. ἐξηγήσατο τοίνυν περὶ τοῦ ἀνάρχου θεοῦ τάδε Φ Geffcken || 82 ὃς μόνος ἄρχει Lact. (μόνος ὃς Φ ὃς om. Theoph.) Geffcken: ἐστὶν ἀναρχος D λ Mras Erbse μόνος ἐστὶν Ps.Iust. (cod. A") ὃς μόνος ἐστὶν Marcovich ἐστὶν, μόναρχος Riedweg || ἀγέννητος Lact. Φ: ἀγέννητος D λ **11.** 83–84 καὶ τῷ τῆς θεολογίας—εἰπούσα D λ (καὶ add. Erbse): om. Φ Geffcken || 85 πανυπέρτατος: πάντων ὑπέρτατος Φ || 87 ὕδατος οἷδατα Theoph. Lact. Φ Geffcken: ὕγρα κύματα D λ ὕγρου κύματα Erbse || 89 αὐτὸς—τύπον τε conl. Struve: αὐτὸς δ' ἐστήριξε τύπον μορφῆς μερόπων τε Lact. Rzach Brandt Geffcken Kurfess: μορφῆς τε τύπον Φ μορφήν τύπον Orac. Sib. III,27 W' τύπον μορφήν Ψ μορφῆς τύπον D λ Erbse || 90 καὶ θήρας—πετεηνά ex Orac. Sib. III,28 addidi: om. cett. || 91 αὐτὸς ἔμιξε em. Rzach e Lact. appr. Geffcken Erbse: αὐγὰς μίξε Φ || γενέτης em. Stadtmüller appr. Geffcken Erbse: γενεῆς Lact. D λ Φ **12.** 92–93 ἔμιξε—καὶ D λ Erbse: ὅπερ εἶρηκεν ἢ Φ Geffcken || καθὼ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ γυνὴ ἐπλάσθη: cf. Gen. 2,21–22 || 93 πατέρες γίνονται D λ appr. Mras Erbse: πρὸς γίνονται Φ προσγίνονται Alexandre Brandt προγίνονται Rzach πατρὸς γίνονται Geffcken πατρὸς <ἐνὸς> γίνονται Hartel || καθὼ συνερχόμενοι εἰς σάρκα μίαν πατέρες γίνονται: cf. Gen. 2,24

καθὸ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἐναντιῶν ὄντων ἀλλήλοις καὶ τὸν ὑπουράνιον κόσμον καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐδημιούργησεν.

95

13. Ἐξηγείται δὲ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ἔξοδον, ἥτις οὐ μόνον πρόσκαιρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μοχθηρὰν τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν πεποίηκε, λέγουσα οὕτως·

Ἄνθρωπον πλασθέντα θεοῦ παλάμαις ἀγίαισιν,
ὃν κέπλάνησεν ὄφρι δολίως, ἐπὶ μοῖραν ἀνελθεῖν
τοῦ θανάτου γνῶσιν τε λαβεῖν ἀγαθοῦ τε κακοῦ τε.

100

14. Ἐπεὶ οὖν, φησί, μόνος ἐστὶ ποιητὴς καὶ προνοητὴς τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ ἀρχιτέκτων τῶν πραγμάτων, μόνος σεπτὸς καὶ προσκυνητὸς ἔστω, φησί·

Αὐτὸν τὸν μόνον ὄντα σέβεσθ', ἡγήτορα κόσμου,
ὃς μόνος εἰς αἰῶνα καὶ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἐτύχθη.

105

15. Συνάπτει δὲ τοῖς ἐγκειμένοις, ὅτι ὁ σωτὴρ πάντων περὶ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ σοφῶν αἰνιγμάτων πρὸς τὸν Νῶε λέγει τοιάδε·

Εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ τοῖος· <σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῆσι νόησον·
οὐρανὸν ἐνδέδymαι,> περιβέβλημαι δὲ θάλασσαν,
γαῖα δέ μοι στήριγμα ποδῶν, περὶ σῶμα κέχυται
ἄηρ, ἡδ' ἄστρον με χορὸς περιδέδymε πάντη.
Ἐννέα γράμματα ἔχω, τετρασύλλαβός εἰμι· νόει με·
αἱ τρεῖς αἱ πρῶται δύο γράμματα ἔχουσιν ἐκάστη,
ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ εἰσιν ἄφωνα τὰ πέντε·
τοῦ παντὸς δ' ἀριθμοῦ ἑκατοντάδες εἰσὶ δις ὀκτώ,

110

115

13. 99–101 Orac. Sib. VIII, 260–262; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. II, 12, 20
104–105 Orac. Sib. fr. 1, 15–16 Geffcken; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. I, 6, 16
108–117 Orac. Sib. I, 137–146

14.**15.**

13. 99 ἄνθρωπον πλασθέντα Lact. Φ Ψ Geffcken Erbse: οὐράνιον ἄνθρωπον
πλασθέντα Ω || θεοῦ παλάμαις ἀγίαισιν om. Φ Ψ θεοῦ παλάμησιν Ω || 100
κέπλάνησεν Erbse: κ' ἐπλάνησε Lact. Ω καὶ πλάνησεν D λ Ψ τ' ἐπλάνησεν
Φ Geffcken Mras || δόλιος Ψ || ἀνελθεῖν Lact. D λ Erbse: ἀπελθεῖν ΦΨ
Geffcken Mras Erbse: ἀγαθοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ B" ἀγαθοῦ κακοῦ τε R **14.** 104 σέβεσθ'
Lact. D Geffcken Mras Erbse: σέβεσθαι λ σέβεσθε H **15.** 108 εἰμὶ δ'
ἐγὼ τοῖος D λ Mras Erbse: εἰμὶ δ' ἔγωγε ὁ ὢν T Ψ Geffcken εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ ὁ
ὢν Φ || 108–109 σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ—ἐνδέδymαι ex Orac. Sib. (= T) ins. Erbse:
om. D λ || 110 δέ μοι Φ Geffcken Erbse: δέ μου D λ Mras *versum* om. T
Ψ || 111 ἡδ' D λ T Geffcken Mras Erbse: δ' ἡδ' ΦΨ || περιδέδymε T Φ
Geffcken Mras Erbse: περιδέδymα D λ περιδέδymαι Ψ || πάντα W" Ψ ||
114 τὰ *ante* πέντε om. T: δὲ *coni.* Alexandre *appr.* Buresch

τρεῖς τρισκαιδεκάδες τρίς θ' ἐπτά· γνούς δὲ τίς εἰμι
οὐκ ἀμύητος ἔση σοφίης πολυήρατος ἀνὴρ.

16. Ἐννεαγράματον <οὖν> ὄνομα τετρασύλλαβον, οὐ αἱ πρῶται τρεῖς
συλλαβαὶ ἀπὸ δύο στοιχείων εἰσίν, ἡ δὲ τελευταία τριῶν ἡ ο ν ο γ ε ν ἡ ς
ἐστίν· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐννέα ταῦτα στοιχεῖα ἔστιν ἄφωνα πέντε $\bar{\mu} \bar{\nu} \bar{\gamma} \bar{\nu} \bar{\xi}$ · τοῦ 120
παντὸς δ' ἀριθμοῦ τῶν γραμμάτων, τουτέστιν τοῦ ἑξοχέως υἱὸς θεοῦ,
συνάγονται ψῆφοι ,αχξ'. Καὶ Ἐμμανουὴλ δὲ τοσαύτας ἔχει συλλαβὰς καὶ
γράμματα· οὐκ ἄπορον τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἐγένετο τὸ νόημα, ἀλλ' ἔγνωμέν σε,
δέσποτα, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς σοι μετ' ἰσχυρᾶς ἐλπίδος παρεθέμεθα καὶ πρὸς σέ
ἔχομεν ἑαυτούς, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸς σὺ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχεις ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὑμνοῦμέν 125
σε· ἡ ἐξουσία σου ἐξουσία αἰδίου καὶ ἡ βασιλεία σου βασιλεία αἰώνιος.

17. Εἴτα τῶν ἐπῶν τοῦ δευτέρου αὐτῆς τόμου ἐπαίωμεν τῶν μηνούντων
τὴν ἐκ παρθένου πάναγνον γέννησιν τοῦ ἁγίου τῶν ἁγίων Ἐμμανουὴλ
ἐχόντων ὧδε·

Ὅπ<π>ότ' ἂν ἡ δάμαλις λόγον ὑψίστοιο θεοῦ 130
τέξεται, ἡ δ' ἄλοχος φῶς <τῷ> λόγῳ οὖνομα δώσει,
καὶ τότε ἅπ' ἀντολῆς ἀστήρ ἐνὶ ἡμασι μέσσοις
λαμπρὸς παμφαινὼν <τε> ἅπ' οὐρανόθεν προφανεῖται
σῆμα μέγ' ἀγγέλλων θνητοῖς μερόπεσσι βροτοῖσι,

17. 130–146 Orac. Sib. I, 323a–e + 324–335.

116 τρεῖς τρισκαιδεκάδες D λ Mras Erbse: καὶ τρεῖς τρισκαιδεκάδες Ψ Τ
καὶ τρεῖς, τρίς δεκάδες Geffcken || τρίς θ' ἐπτά *em.* Mras *abbr.* Erbse: καὶ
τρίς ἐπτά D λ καὶ δις ἐπτά Τ δις θ' ἐπτά Buresch σὺν τοῖς ἐπτά Ψ σὺν γ'
ἐπτά Φ (γὰρ *cod.* B") Geffcken σὺν τοῖς δυοῖς Alexandre || 117 σοφίης
πολυήρατος ἀνὴρ D λ Mras Erbse: τῆς παρ' ἐμοὶ σοφίης Τ Φ (παρ' ἐμοῦ Ψ)
Geffcken || οὗτος μὲν σὺν ὁ τὴν Θεοσοφίαν Σιβύλλης γεγραφῶς ἔδοξεν εἰς
λύσιν τοῦ ζητημένου τὸ ἑξοχέως ὄνομα καὶ τὸ Ἐμμανουὴλ εὐρεῖν. ἔοικε
δὲ μὴ εἶδέναι τὴν λύσιν *add.* Τ **16.** 118 οὖν *ins.* Erbse || 120 εἰς δὲ D
Erbse: εἰ δὲ λ Mras || 126 ἡ *ante* ἐξουσία D Mras Erbse: ἡ ἢ λ **17.**
130–134 *versus* 323 a–e ὁππότ' ἂν—βροτοῖσι *in solis codd.* D, λ, α, Q" *et* O'
inveniuntur || 130 ὁππότ' *em.* Mras *abbr.* Erbse: ὁπότε *codd.* || δάμαλις *cf.*
Apocr. Ezech. *ap.* Tert., De carne Christi 23,6: *legimus apud Ezechielem de*
vacca illa, quae peperit et non peperit Epiph., Pan. 30,30,3: καὶ τέξεται ἡ δάμαλις
καὶ ἐροῦσιν, οὐ τέτοκεν Ps.Greg. Nyss., Test. adv. Jud. 3: ἰδοὺ ἡ δάμαλις
τέτοκε καὶ οὐ τέτοκε. Τοῦτο δὲ δηλοῖ τὴν Παρθένον || λόγον ὑψίστοιο θεοῦ
transp. et em. Mras *abbr.* Erbse: θεοῦ λόγον ὑψίστοιο *codd.* Kurfess || περὶ τῆς
γεννήσεως τοῦ δεσπότης Χριστοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἀειπαρθένου καὶ ἀχράντου Μαρίας
καὶ τῆς ὀνομασίας αὐτοῦ ἡγουν τὸ Ἰησοῦς ὃ τι ἐκλήθη D mg. || 131 τέξεται—
δώσει *em.* α Q" O' || ἄλοχος Mras Kurfess J.B. Bauer: ἄλαλος D Erbse ||
φῶς *em.* Mras: φῶς D λ φῶ<τὸ>ς *coni.* Rzach Kurfess J.B. Bauer Erbse ||
τῷ *ins.* Mras: θεοῦ Snell Erbse || 132 καὶ τότε D λ Mras Erbse: δὴ τότε α
Q" O' || ἀντολῆς D Mras Erbse: ἀνατολῆς α Q" O' ἀπανατολῆς λ ||
ἡμασι Mras Kurfess: ἡμασι Erbse || 133 τε *ins.* Mras || 134 μερόπεσσι:
μερίπασσι Kurfess

δὴ τότε τοῦ μεγάλιοι θεοῦ καίς ἀνθρώποισιν 135
 ἦξει σαρκοφόρος θνητοῖς ὁμοιούμενος ἐν γῇ,
 τέσσαρα φωνήεντα φέρων, τὰ δ' ἄφωνα ἐν αὐτῷ
 δισσωδῶς· ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι ἀριθμόν γ' ὅλον ἐξονομήνω.
 Ὅκτὼ γὰρ μονάδας, τόσσας δεκάδας δ' ἐπὶ ταύταις
 ἡδ' ἑκατοντάδας ὅκτὼ ἀπιστοκόροις ἀνθρώποις 140
 οὖνομα δηλώσει· σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῆσι νόησον
 ἀθανάτοιο θεοῦ Χριστὸν παῖδ' ὑψίστοιο.
 Αὐτὸς πληρώσει δὲ θεοῦ νόμον, οὐ καταλύσει,
 ἀντίτυπον μίμημα φέρων καὶ πάντα διδάξει.
 Τούτῳ προσκομίσουσ' ἱερεῖς χρυσόν, προφέροντες 145
 σμύρναν, ἀτὰρ λίβανον· καὶ γὰρ τάδε πάντ' ἐθελήσει.

18. Δάμαλιν τὴν ἀπειρόγαμον παρθένον λέγει· Ἑβραϊστὶ γὰρ παρθένος
 καὶ δάμαλις τῷ ἐνὶ ὀνόματι προσαγορεύονται, καθὰ οἱ τὰς θείας γραφὰς
 ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑβραϊδὸς φωνῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μεταθέντες ἡρμήνευσαν. Δάμαλις
 γὰρ καλεῖται ἡ ἀδάμαστος καὶ μήπω τὰ ῥω μιγεῖσα· μετὰ τὸ σκυλῆναι 150
 γὰρ οὐκέτι δάμαλις, ἀλλὰ βοῦς ὀνομάζεται. Διὸ ἐπήγαγεν·

ἡ <δ> ἄλοχος φῶς <τῷ λόγῳ οὖνομα δώσει> ,

τουτέστιν ἡ ἄλοχος ἄνθρωπος τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄνομα ὡς μήτηρ ἐπιθήσει.

19. Καταγινωσκόμενοι οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὅτι τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ Ἡσαΐα οὐκ 155
 ἐπίστευσαν εἰπόντι· Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱὸν καὶ
 καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἑμμανουήλ, ὃ ἐστὶ <μεθερμηνευόμενον>
 “μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός” (α), ψυχρὰν ἀπολογίαν προίσχονται, ὅτι ἔνιοι τῶν

a) Matth. 1,23; cf. Is. 7,14 et 8,10 LXX

135 δὴ D λ Φ Ψ Mras Erbse: καὶ α Q' O' || 135–141 δὴ τότε—νόησον
 T || 135 τοῦ D Ψ T Erbse: καὶ Φ Geffcken Mras *om. cett.* || 136 θνητοῖσιν
 Ψ || 137 φέρει Φ || 137–138 τὰ δ' ἄφωνα—ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι *ego*: τὸ δ' ἄφωνον
 ἐν (ἐν Erbse) αὐτῷ δισσόν T Geffcken Kurfess τὰ δ' ἄφωνα (τὰ δ' ἀφώνων
 λ) ἑαυτῶν (ἑαυτὸν Mras ὃν αὐτῷ Φ) δισσωδῶς ἀγγέλλων D Φ τὰ δ' ἄφωνα ὄντα
 ἐν αὐτῷ δισσόν τ' ἀγγέλω Ψ || 138 γ' ὅλον T Erbse: δ' ὅλον Ψ δόλον Φ ||
 139 δ' *ante* ἐπὶ Ψ Geffcken Erbse: *om. cett.* || ταύταις Ψ T Geffcken Erbse:
 τούτοις *cett.* || 140 ἡδ' ἑκατοντάδας: ἡ διεκατοντάδας λ || 141 *post* νόησον
add. T: οὗτος ὁ τῆς Θεοσοφίας συγγραφεὺς τὸ “Ἰησοῦς” ὄνομα παρατίθεται εἰς
 τὴν τοῦ ζητουμένου λύσιν, καὶ ὡς οἶμαι, τοῦτο ἀσφαλῶς || 143 δὲ *post* πληρώσει
 Φ: *om. cett.* || 145 προσκομίσουσ' Φ Geffcken Mras Erbse: προσκομίσουσιν
 D λ Ψ Q' O' προσκυνήσουσι α || ἱερεῖς D λ Φ Ψ Geffcken Mras Erbse:
 μάγοι α Q' O' || προφέροντες D α λ Geffcken Mras Erbse: προσφέροντες
 Φ Ψ Q' O' || 146 πάντ' ἐθελήσει Q' O' Erbse: πάντα θελήσει α πάντα
 ποιήσει D λ Φ Ψ Geffcken Mras **18.** 149 ἡρμήνευσαν λ Mras Erbse:
 εἰρμήνευσαν D || 151 οὐκέτι *em.* Erbse: οὐκ ἔτι D λ Mras || 152 δ' *ins.*
 Mras || ἄλοχος Mras: ἄλαλος D λ Erbse || φῶς *em.* Mras: φῶς D λ || τῷ
 λόγῳ οὖνομα δώσει *suppl.* Mras: θεοῦ λόγῳ οὖνομα δώσει Erbse || 153 ἄλοχος
 Mras: ἄλαλος D λ Erbse **19.** 156 μεθερμηνευόμενον *ex evangelio sec.*
Matthaeum ins. Erbse || 157 μεθ' Erbse: μετὰ D λ Mras

παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐρμηνευτῶν δάμαλιν ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου εἰρήκασιν, οὐ θεωροῦντες, τί τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς τεχθέντος, Ἐμμανουήλ, σημαίνει.

20. Ὁ προαιώνιος οὖν, φησίν, υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς παρθένου ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ τεχθήσεται ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκός, ὡς γέγραπται, καὶ ὑπὸ ἀστέρος μνηυθήσεται, οὐτινος τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ ὀνόματος τέσσαρα φωνήεντά εἰσι, τουτέστιν ὁ ὀ ε ἥ, ἄφωνα δὲ ἄλλα τοσαῦτα, τουτέστι μ ῥ γ ξ, ἅτινα συναπτόμενα σημαίνει 'μονογενής'. — Καὶ πάλιν φωνήεντα ἰ ἥ ὀ ὕ, ἄφωνα ὁ ὁ, ἅτινα συναπτόμενα δηλοῖ 'Ἰησοῦς'. ὅπερ ὄνος συνάγει ψήφους· ὁκτάκις ἑκατὸν ἔνδεκα, τουτέστιν ὡπῇ ὡς εἶπεν μονάδας ἡ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἅπαξ ἡ', τόσας δεκάδας <δ> ἐπὶ ταύταις ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁκτάκις δέκα, π', ἡδ' ἑκατοντάδας ἡ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁκτάκις ρ', ὡ'. — 'Κύριος' δὲ συνάγει ψήφους ὡ' ὡς γίνεσθαι πάλιν ἐτέρῳ τρόπῳ κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ὁκτάκις ἑκατὸν ἔνδεκα, τουτέστιν 'Ἰησοῦς Κύριος' ψήφῳ ὡπῇ. Ἀπὸ τούτων τοίνυν νόησον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν τοῦ προφητευομένου καὶ εἰρηκότος· 'οὐκ ἦλθον καταλύσαι τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι' (b), ἀντὶ τοῦ παῦσαι· ᾧ καὶ προσεκομίσθη χρυσὸς μὲν ὡς βασιλεῖ βασιλέων, λίβανος δὲ ὡς θεῷ καὶ ἀμίσθῳ οἰκονόμῳ, ὡς ἀποθανομένῳ δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ ζῆνι σμύρνα.

21. 'Ἄλλ' ὅπότε ἂν φωνὴ τις ἐρμηνείας διὰ χώρης ἦξη ἀπαγγέλλουσα βροτοῖς καὶ πᾶσι βοήση, εὐθείας ἀτραποὺς ποιησέμεν ἡδ' ἀπορίψαι ἐκ κραδῆς κακίας καὶ ὕδασι φωτίζεσθαι πᾶν δέμας ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα γεννηθέντες ἄνωθεν μηκέτι μὴθὲν ὅλως γε παρεκβαίνωσι δικαίων— τὴν δ' αὖ βαρβαρόφρων, πεπεισμένος ὀρχηθμοῖσιν, ἐκκόψας δώσει μισθόν—, τότε σῆμα βροτοῖσιν

21. 175–198 Orac. Sib. I, 336–359

b) Matth. 5,17

158 ὅ ἐστι μετὰ ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς *post* εἰρήκασιν *iter*. D et λ: *del.* Mras et Erbse
20. 164 ἱου *em.* Mras: αἱου D λ || 167 δ' *ins.* Erbse || ταύταις Erbse: τούτοις D λ Mras || 169 ὁκτάκις ἑκατὸν ἔνδεκα *corr.* Mras: ὁκτωκαίδεκα εἰς ἑκατὸν ια D λ || 170 ὡπῇ *corr.* Mras: ὡχη D λωχη λ **21.** 175 ὅπότε' ἂν D λ Mras Erbse: ὁπόταν Φ Ψ Geffcken || 176 ἦξη Geffcken *abbr.* Mras Erbse: ἦξει Ψ ἦξει Φ D λ || βοήση Ψ βοήσει Φ || 177 ἀπορρίψαι D ἀπορρίψη Ψ || 178 κραδῆς ΦΨ Mras Erbse: καρδῆς D λ || κακίην Ψ || 180 γε Φ Geffcken Mras Erbse: *om.* D λ Ψ || παρὸς ἐκβαίνωσι Ψ || 181 τὴν D ΦΨ Geffcken Erbse: τῆς λ Mras || πεπεισμένος D λ Mras Erbse: πεπεισμένος Ψ πεπεδημένος Φ Geffcken || ὀρχηθμοῖσιν Φ Ψ Geffcken Erbse: ὀρχηθμοῖο D λ Mras

ἔσσεται ἐξαίφνης, ὅπότε ἂν πεφυλαγμένος ἦξη
 ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καλὸς λίθος. Ἐν δ' ἄρα τούτῳ
 λαὸς προσκόψει Ἑβραίων, ἔθνη δ' ἀγεροῦνται 185
 αὐτοῦ ὑψηγήσει· καὶ γὰρ θεὸν ὑψιμέδοντα
 γνώσονται διὰ τοῦδε καὶ ἀτραπὸν ἐν φαὶ κοινῷ·
 δείξει γὰρ ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἀθρώποισιν
 ἐκλεκτοῖς, ἀνόμοις δὲ τὸ πῦρ αἰῶσιν ἐποίσει.
 Καὶ τότε δὴ νοσεροὺς ἰήσεται ἡδ' ἐπιμώμους 190
 πάντας, ὅσοι τούτῳ πίστιν ἐνιποιήσονται.
 Βλέψουσιν δέ τε τυφλοὶ, ἀτὰρ βαδίσουσιν τε χωλοί,
 κωφοὶ τ' εἰσαίσουσιν, λαλήσουσ' οὐ λαλέοντες·
 δαίμονας ἐξελάσει, νεκρῶν δ' ἐπανάστασις ἔσται·
 κύματα πεζεύσει καὶ ἐρημαίῃ ἐνὶ χώρῃ 195
 ἐξ ἄρτων <ἅμα> πέντε καὶ ἰχθύος εἰναλίοιο
 χιλιάδας κορέσει πέντε, τὰ δὲ λείψανα τούτων
 δώδεκα πληρώσει κοφίνους εἰς ἐλπίδα λαῶν.

22. Διὰ τούτων προεφήκεν αὐτολεξεῖ σχεδὸν τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου
 Ἰωάννου διαλαλοῦν· ῥωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν 200
 Κυρίου· καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς (c).

23. Καὶ ἄλλη δὲ Σίβυλλα, ἥτις ποτέ ἐστίν, λόγους τοῦ αἰεὶ ὄντος θεοῦ καὶ
 πατρὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους διεκόμισεν ἔχοντας ὧδε·

Μοῦνος γὰρ θεὸς εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς ἄλλος.

23. 204 Orac. Sib. VIII,377; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. I,6,16

22. c) Matth. 3,3; Mc. 1,3; Lc. 3,4 = Is. 40,3

183 ὅπότε ἂν D λ Mras Erbse: ὁπότεν ΦΨ Geffcken || 185 ἀγεροῦνται Φ
 Ψ Geffcken: ἐγεροῦνται D λ Mras Erbse || 187 καὶ ἀτραπὸν Ψ Erbse:
 ἀταρπιτὸν D λ Mras Geffcken ἀταρπητὸν τ' Φ || φαὶ Geffcken: φάει Φ Ψ
 λ || κοινῷ om. Φ || 188 αἰώνιον ζωὴν Φ || 189 ἐποίσει D λ Geffcken Mras
 Erbse: ἀποίσει ΦΨ || 191 πίστιν om. λ || 192 τε Φ Geffcken Erbse: γε Ψ
 om. D λ Mras || βαδίσουσιν em. Mras: βαδίσωσι D λ βαδιούσι Ψ || 193
 εἰσαίσουσιν Φ Geffcken Mras Erbse: εἰσακούσουσιν Ψ εἰσακούσωσι D λ ||
 λαλήσουσ' S' Mras Erbse: λαλήσουσι δ' D λ Ψ W' λαλήσ' B'' || οὐ λαλέοντες:
 δ' ἄφωνοι W' || 195 κύματα—χώρῃ om. Ψ || ἐρημαίῃ ἐνὶ χώρῳ Geffcken
 || 196 ἅμα ex Orac. Sib. VIII, 275 ins. Castalio *ap̄p̄r.* Erbse || ἰχθύων
 ἐναλίων Ψ λ || 198 δώδεκα: δέκα δύο Ψ || ἐλπίδα λαῶν Rzach Geffcken
 (cf. Lact., Div. Inst. IV,15,18 et Orac. Sib. VIII,278): παρθένον ἀγνήν D λ
 Φ Ψ Mras Erbse **23.** 204 εἰμι Lact. D Ω Geffcken Mras Erbse: ἐστι Φ
 Ψ || ἔστιν Lact. B'' D Mras Erbse: ἐστι *cell.*

24. Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ αὐτοπάτορος πατρός, τοῖς ὁμοίοις δὲ καὶ ἴσοις καὶ 205
 περὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· εὐθὺς γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως αὐτοῦ
 ὁμοίον τι λέγουσα τῷ προφήτῃ Ἡσαΐα· ἔξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης
 Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ ἄνθος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναβήσεται (d), ἡ Ἐρυθραία ἐπιθειαζομένη
 Σίβυλλα προεῖπεν οὕτως·

Ἀνθήσει δ' ἄνθος καθαρὸν, βρῖσουσι δὲ πάντα. 210
 Δείξει δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὁδούς, δείξει δὲ κελεύθους
 οὐρανίας, πάντας δὲ σοφοῖς μύθοισι διδάξει.
 Ἄξει δ' ἔς τε δίκην καὶ πείσει λαὸν ἀπεχθῆ,
 πάντα λόγῳ πρᾶσσω πᾶσάν τε νόσον θεραπεύων·
 τοὺς ἀνέμους παύσειε λόγῳ, στρώσει δὲ θάλασσαν 215
 μαινομένην ποσὶν εἰρήνης πίστει τε πατήσας.

25. Καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Χριστοῦ αἰθίς·

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν δόξῃ, ἀλλ' ὡς βροτὸς εἰς κτίσιν ἤξει
 οἰκτρὸς ἄτιμος ἄμορφος, ἵν' οἰκτροῖς ἐλπίδα δώσει.

26. Ὡς ἀφελκύσασα τὴν Ἡσαΐου προφητείαν (e) οὕτως καὶ τούσδε 220
 προαπήγειλε τοὺς στίχους·

24. 210–216 Orac. Sib. VI,8–11 + VIII,272–274 25. 218–219 Orac.
 Sib. VIII,256–257 26. 222–225 Orac. Sib. VIII,287–290; cf. Lact., Div.
 Inst. IV,18,13.15; August., De Civ. Dei XVIII,23

d) Is. 11,1 e) Is. 50,6

24. 207 ἐξελεύσεται· καὶ ἐξελεύσεται LXX || 208 ἐξ αὐτῆς· ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης
 LXX || 210 βρῖσουσι *scripsi*: βρίθουσι D λ Mras Erbse βρύσουσι Ω Geffcken
 βρύουσι Φ Ψ || πάντα D λ Mras Erbse: πηγαί Ω Geffcken || 212 οὐρανίους
 Φ Ψ || σοφοῖς Φ Ψ Ω Geffcken: σοφούς D λ Mras Erbse || 213 ἄξει Φ Ψ
 D λ Mras Erbse: ἤξει Ω Geffcken ὤξει W' || πείσει: πιάσει Ω || ἀπεχθῆ Φ
 Ψ Ω: ἀπειθῆ *coni.* Alexandre *appr.* Geffcken || ἄξει δ' εἷς (ἐς Erbse) τε δίκην
 καὶ δείξει πλοῦτον ἀπεχθῆ D λ Mras Erbse || 214–216 *verba* πάντα—θερ-
 απεύων *laudat* Lact., Div. Inst. IV,15,9, τοὺς ἀνέμους—πατήσας *ibid.* IV,15,24
leguntur || 214 τε Lact. D λ Mras Erbse: δὲ Ω Geffcken *om.* Φ Ψ || νόσον:
 νοῦσον Φ || 215 ἀνέμους: ἀνόμους Ω Ψ || στρώσει δὲ Lact. D λ Mras Erbse:
 στορέσει δὲ Φ Geffcken στορέσειε (στορέσεις R) δὲ Ψ παύσει δὲ Ω || 216
 εἰρήνης Lact. D λ Geffcken Mras Erbse: εἰρήνη Ψ εἰρήνην Ω εἰρήνη Φ ||
 πίσει τε πατήσας Lact. D λ Φ Ψ Geffcken Mras Erbse: ποτὶ δὲ κρατήσει Ω
 25. 218 ἀλλ' ὡς Ω Geffcken Mras Erbse: ἄλλως Φ Ψ κάλλους D λ || βροτὸς
 Ω Geffcken Mras Erbse: χριστὸς D λ || βροτὸς—ἤξει *om.* Φ (*in B* λείπει)
 Ψ || κτίσιν *ex* Orac. Sib. VIII,269 *coni.* Mendelssohn *appr.* Geffcken: κρίσιν
 D λ Ω Mras Erbse *om.* Φ Ψ || 219 *verba* οἰκτρὸς—δώσει *in* Lact., Div. Inst.
 IV,16,17 *leguntur* || οἰκτρὸς Lact. Φ Ψ Ω Geffcken Mras Erbse: ἀλλ' οἰκτρὸς
 D λ || ἄτιμος ἄμορφος Lact. (*sed* ἄμορφος ἄτιμος Lact. *cod. Bonon.*) Φ Ψ Ω
 Geffcken: ἄμορφος ἵν' ἀτίμοσιν D λ ἄμορφος ἄτιμος ἵν' Mras Erbse || δώσει
 Lact. Ω Geffcken Mras: δώση D λ Erbse (—η) ἵν'—δώσει *om.* Φ Ψ

Εἰς ἀνόμους χεῖρας καὶ ἀπίστων ὕστερον ἦξει.
 Δώσουσιν δὲ θεῷ ῥαπίσματα χερσὶν ἀνάγκοις
 καὶ στόμασιν μιανοῖς ἐμπτύσματα φαρμακόμεντα.
 Δώσει δ' εἰς μάστιγας ἀπλῶς ἀγνὸν τότε νῶτον.

225

27. Εἴτα περὶ τοῦ ἐθελοντὴν ἅπαντα ὑπομένοντα τὸν Σωτῆρα σιγὴν ἀσκέει
 ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἐλκόμενον καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸν ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος
 αὐτόν (f)· ἄφωνος, λέγει,

καὶ κολαφιζόμενος σιγήσει, μή τις ἐπιγνῶ
 τίς λόγος, ἢ πόθεν ἦλθεν, ἵνα φθιμένοισι λαλήσει
 καὶ στέφανον φορέσει τὸν ἀκάνθινον, ἐκ γὰρ ἀκανθῶν
 τὸ στέφος ἐκλεκτῶν ἀγίων αἰώνιον ἦξει.

230

28. Πάλιν οὐκ ἀπάδοντα τοῦ ἐξηκοστοῦ ὀγδόου ψαλμοῦ (g) χαριέντως
 διεξέρχεται·

Εἰς δὲ τὸ βρῶμα χολὴν κεῖς δίψαν ὄξος ἔδωκαν·
 τῆς ἀφιλοξενίης ταύτην δείξουσι τράπεζαν.

235

27. 229–232 Orac. Sib. VIII,292–295; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. IV,18,16–17

28. 235–236 Orac. Sib. VIII,303–304; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. IV, 18,18–19

f) Is. 53,7

g) Ps. 68,22–23

26. 222 ἀνόμους Lact. D λ Mras Erbse: ἀνόμων Φ Ψ Ω Geffcken || ὕστερον Lact. D λ Ω Geffcken Mras Erbse: ὕστατον Φ Ψ || 223 δώσουσιν δὲ Lact. Geffcken Mras Erbse: δώσουσι δὲ Lact. (*cod. Bonon.*) D λ Ω καὶ δώσουσι Φ δώσουσι Ψ || 224 στόμασιν Lact. (*cod. Bonon.*) Geffcken Mras Erbse: στόμασι Lact. (*celt. codd.*) D λ Ω om. Φ Ψ || ἐμπτύσματα φαρμακόμεντα Lact. Ω Ψ Geffcken Mras Erbse: εἰς ἐκπτώσματα φαρμακόμεντα παρειὰς αὐτοῦ Φ || 225 δώσει κ' εἰς (κεῖς W') Φ δώσει τ' εἰς Ψ || ἀπλῶς ἀγνὸν τότε Lact. Rzach Mras Erbse: ἀπλώσας D λ ἀναπλώσας τότε Ω Geffcken ἀπλώσει θ' ἀγνὸν Φ Ψ || ἀγνὸν om. Ω Geffcken 27. 229–232 *versus Sibyllinos scripsi testimonio* Lact. *nusus* || 229 σιγήσει, μή τις Geffcken: ἐσίγησεν, ἵνα μήτις D λ Mras Erbse || 230 τίς λόγος ἢ πόθεν: ὅπ<π>όθεν D λ *suppl.* Mras *abbr.* Erbse τίς τίνος ὦν πόθεν Φ Geffcken τίς τίνος ὅς Ψ τίς τίνος ἢ Ω || λαλήσει Lact. L" Geffcken: λαλήσῃ D λ Mras Erbse || 231 φορέσει Lact. D λ Ω Geffcken Mras Erbse: φορέσῃ Φ Ψ || 231–232 ἐκ γὰρ ἀκανθῶν—ἦξει om. Lact. || 232 ἐκλεκτῶν—ἦξει Φ Ψ ἔξει D λ Mras Erbse ἐκλεκτὸν (—ὦν *em.* Buresch) αἰώνιον ἐστὶ ἄγαλμα Ω Geffcken 28. 233 ἀπάδοντα *em.* Mras *abbr.* Erbse: ἀπαίδοντα D ἀπαείδοντα λ || 235 κεῖς δίψαν Lact. Mras Erbse: καὶ εἰς δίψαν D λ καὶ πιεῖν Φ Ψ Ω Geffcken || 236 τῆς ἀφιλοξενίης Lact. Ω D λ Geffcken Mras Erbse: δὲ φιλοξενίης Φ Buresch τῆς φιλοξενίης Ψ || ταύτην δείξουσι τράπεζαν Lact. D λ (τραπέζουσιν) Geffcken Mras Erbse: ταύτης τίσουσι τράπεζαν Ω Φ Ψ

29. Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα·

Ἦ ξύλον ὃ μακαριστόν, ἐφ' ᾧ θεὸς ἐξετανύσθη,
 <οὐχ ἔξει σε χθών, ἀλλ' οὐρανοῦ οἶκον ἐσόψει,
 ἥνικα ἀστράψει τὸ σόν, θεός, ἔμπυρον ὅμμα.>

240

30. Καὶ αὐθις·

Καὶ θανάτου μοῖραν τελέσει τρίτον ἡμαρ ὑπνώσας·
 <καὶ τότε ἀπὸ φθιμένων ἀναλύσας εἰς φάος ἤξει,>
 πρῶτος ἀναστάσεως κλητοῖς ἀρχὴν ὑποδείξας,

ἵνα ᾗ ἐν πᾶσι πρωτεύων, ὡς ὁ ἱερώτατος Παῦλος ἐπιστέλλει (h).

245

31. Ὡς δὲ σύμφωνός τις οὔσα ἡ πρόμαντις τῶν ὁσίων προφητῶν καὶ τὴν
 ἔντρομον ἀγανάκτησιν καὶ συμπάθειαν τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῆς τε τῆς τότε
 ἡμέρας τὸ ἀκαλλῆς ὁρατῶς οἶον καὶ ἀκουστῶς δηλοῖ·

Ναοῦ δὲ σχισθῇ τὸ πέτασμα καὶ ἡματι μέσσω
 νύξ ἔσται σκοτόεσσα πελώριος ἐν τρισὶν ὥραις.
 Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ταῦτα πάντα τελειωθῇ, ἅπερ εἶπον,
 εἰς αὐτὸν τότε πᾶς λύεται νόμος, ὅσπερ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
 <δόγμασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐδόθη διὰ λαὸν ἀπειθῇ.>

250

29. 238–240 Orac. Sib. VI,26–28; cf. Sozom., H. E. II,1,10; Io. Lyd., De mens. IV,47 30. 242–244 Orac. Sib. VIII, 312–314; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. IV,19,10 31. 249–253 Orac. Sib. VIII,305–306 + 299–301; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. IV,19,5 + IV,17,4

h) Col. 1,18

29. 238 ὃ ξύλον, ὃ μακαριστόν Io. Lyd. D λ Φ Ω α Ε Ο Buresch Geffcken Mras Erbse: ὃ μακάριστόν γ' ὃ ξύλον Ψ ὃ ξύλον μακαριστόν Soz. τρισ-μακάριστον T || ἐφ' ᾧ D λ Φ α Mras Erbse: ᾧ Ψ ἐφ' οὗ Ω Soz. Geffcken ὑφ' οὗ Io. Lyd. Ο ἐν Φ Ε T Buresch || 239–240 οὐχ—ὅμμα *addidi ex* Orac. Sib. || 239 οὐχ ἔξει σε χθών Castalio Geffcken: οὐχ ἔξει σ' (ἔξεις B) οὐ χθών Φ οὐχ ἔξεις οὐκέτι χθών Ψ οὐχ ἔξεις ἐχθρὸν Ω οὐκ ἔξει σε χθών Ε || οὐρανοῦ Rzach Buresch Kurfess: οὐρανὸν *cell.* || 240 ἥνικα ἀστράψει Geffcken: ἥνικα δ' ἀστράψει Ω ἥνικ' ἀστράψεις Ψ ἥνικα ἀστράψει Φ ἥνικ' ἀπαστράψει Kurfess || τὸ σόν, θεός Alexandre Geffcken Kurfess τόνον (τόσσον H) θεός Ω τὸ νέον θεοῦ Φ Ψ 30. 242 περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως D λ mg. || καὶ θανάτου—ὑπνώσας *om.* Φ Ψ || ἡμαρ Geffcken Mras: ἡμαρ D λ Erbse || 243 καὶ τότε—ἤξει *add.* Erbse *e* Lact. *et codd.* Φ Ψ (*om.* L) Ω: *om.* D λ Mras || ἀναλύσας: ἀναστήσας Ω || 244 κλητοῖς (κλητοῖς λ) ἀρχὴν ὑποδείξας: ἀρχὴν θνητοῖς (Lact. *cod. Bonon.*) ἐπιδείξας Ω || 245 ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων Paulus 31. 247 τε *om.* λ Mras || 249 τὸ πέτασμα καὶ Lact. Geffcken Mras Erbse: τὸ καταπέτασμα καὶ D λ Φ Ψ τὰ πετάσματα Ω || ἡματι D λ Erbse || 251 δὴ ταῦτα πάντα Lact.: δὴ τότε πάντα D λ Mras Erbse ταῦτά γε πάντα Φ Geffcken ταῦτα πάντα Ψ Ω ταῦτα ἅπαντα Brandt || 252 τότε—νόμος Lact. Φ D λ Geffcken Mras Erbse: τε πᾶς λύεται νόμος Ψ τότε πᾶς τε νόμος λύεται Ω || 252–253 ὅσπερ—ἀπειθῇ *om.* Lact. || 252 ὅσπερ D λ Mras Erbse: ὅστις Φ Ψ Geffcken τίς Ω || 253 *verba* δόγμασιν—ἀπειθῇ *ex* Orac. Sib. *addidi: om. cell.* || ἀνθρώποις: ἀνθρώπων Φ Ψ

32. Καὶ ἄλλη Σίβυλλα θεοφορουμένη προανεφώνησε περὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν πατέρα πέμπειν τὸν ἴδιον υἱόν, δι' οὗ τὰ ἅπαντα καὶ ὑφίστησι καὶ κυβερνᾷ, ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀποκαῦσαι κακόν· 255

Καὶ τότε ἅπ' ἡελίοιο θεὸς πέμψει βασιλῆα,
ὃς πᾶσαν γαῖαν παύσει πολέμοιο κακοῖο.

33. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ τοῦ πέμπαντος κἄν πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐξαλλαγὴν ἔχων νομισθῇ ὁ τὰ σύμπαντα ποιήσας τε καὶ διέπων, ἀπήγγειλαν σαφῶς καὶ διαρρήδην αἱ Σίβυλλαι, τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ἐκεῖνος· 260

αὐτόν σου γίνωσκε θεὸν θεοῦ υἱὸν ἔοντα,
ὃς δι' οἶκτον ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος καὶ ταπεινὸς φανεῖς
κύματα πεζεύσει, νόσον ἀνθρώπων ἀπολύσει,
στήσει τεθνηῶτας, ἀπάσεται ἄλγεα πολλά, 265
ἐκ δὲ μιῆς πῆρης ἄρτου κόρος ἔσσεται ἀνδρῶν.

34. Ὅτι δ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σκότος ἡλίου τε καὶ <ἐγερσις> ἀνθρωπείων ψυχῶν διὰ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος τὸ πάσης γέμον ἀθανασίας ἐγένετο, ἐν δὲ μεσονυκτίῳ φῶς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνήφθη διὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὴν ὑπόδειγμα καὶ αἰτίαν ἀναστάσεως οὖσαν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ γένει, συντόμως καταλέγει ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσι· 270

ὁππότεν ἔλθῃ,
πῦρ ἔσται σκοτόεντι μέσῃ <τ'> ἐνὶ νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ.

32. 257–258 Orac. Sib. III,652–653; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. VII,18,5 33. 262 Orac. Sib. VIII, 329 (cf. Lact., Div. Inst. IV,6,5); 264–266 Orac. Sib. VI, 13–15 (cf. Lact., Div. Inst. IV,15,25) 34. 272–273 Orac. Sib. fr. 6 Geffcken; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. VII,19,2

32. 257 ἅπ' ἡελίοιο Lact. Φ Ψ Geffcken: *om.* Ω ἀφ' ἡλίου Steuchus ἅπ' ὀλύμποιο D λ ἀπ' οὐλύμποιο Mras Erbse 33. 262 αὐτόν σου Lact. (*praeter cod. S*) D Ω (*praeter cod. H*) Mras Erbse: αὐτόν σοι Lact. (*cod. S*) αὐτόν συ λ || 264 πεζεύσει νόσον ἀνθρώπων Lact. D λ Geffcken Mras Erbse: πεζεύσει νόσους δ' ἀνδρῶν Φ πεζεύσει νόμους δ' ἀνδρῶν Ψ πεζεύσει νόμοις (νόμους H) τ' ἀνθρώπους Ω || ἀπολύσει Lact. Φ Ψ Geffcken Mras: ἀπολύει Ω ἀπελάσει D λ ἀπελάσ<σ>ει Erbse || 265 τεθνηῶτας ἀπάσεται Lact. Geffcken Mras Erbse: τεθνηῶτας ἀποίσεται Ω τεθνεῶτας κάπώσεται Ψ *ferē* Φ τεθνεῶτας ἀπάσεται D λ || ἄλγεα Lact. Φ Ψ Ω Geffcken Mras Erbse: δ' ἄλγεα D λ || πολλά Lact. D λ Ω Geffcken Mras Erbse: λυγρά Φ Ψ || 266 ἐκ δὲ μιῆς: μιᾶς Ψ ἐκ δεμνῆς λ || πῆρης Lact. D λ Geffcken Mras Erbse: σπειρῆς Ω ρίζης Φ Ψ Buresch Wilamowitz 34. 267 ἐγερσις *suppl.* Erbse: ἀνάστασις Mras || 272 ὁππότεν ἔλθῃ *e Lact. supplēvi* || 273 σκοτόεντι Lact. Geffcken Mras Erbse: σκότος, ἐν τε D λ ψολόεν τι Stadtmüller Brandt || τ' *ante* ἐνὶ *ins.* Mras *abbr.* Erbse || μελαίνῃ Lact. Geffcken: γαλήνῃ D λ Mras Erbse

35. Οὕτω γὰρ ηὐδόκησεν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωή, ἡ πηγή τῆς ἀθανασίας· ὁ ἔχων
 πλήθος οἰκτιρμῶν τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν δι' οἰκείαν παρακοὴν συν- 275
 τετριμμένην καὶ τεταπεινωμένην καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις καθεύδουσιν ἐξεγείραι,
 τὸν δὲ εὐρετὴν τῆς ἀπάτης, τὸν σκελίσαντα τὴν Εὐάν, τὸν χειμάσαντα τὸ
 ἀνθρώπειον γένος, τὸν ἀμνη <***>

II

1.]οὔτως ἔφη·

Ἦξει καὶ μακάρων ἐθέλων πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξει.
 Καὶ κέν τις θεόθεν βασιλεὺς πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦτον
 πάντας ὀλεῖ βασιλεῖς μεγάλους καὶ φώτας ἀρίστους.
 Εἶθ' οὕτως κρίσις ἔσται ὑπ' ἀφθίτου ἀνθρώποισιν.

5

Ἐν φόβῳ οὖν, φησί, τὸν τῆς παροικίας ἡμῶν χρόνον ἀναστραφόμεν,
 πτερωθέντες τὴν αἴσθησιν καὶ εὐμενιζόμενοι τὸν μόνον νομοθέτην καὶ
 κριτὴν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κηδόμενον διὰ ἱεροπρεποῦς βίου.

2. Εἶτα καὶ ἄλλη Σίβυλλα τὴν ἑνδοξον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον δευτέραν
 ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ πλησίον ἀεὶ πάντων παρόντος καὶ πάντα ἐφορῶντος 10
 πολυσέπτου θεοῦ προαναφωνοῦσά φησιν·

<ὅς ῥά κε πραῦς ἰδοὺ ἦξει,> ἵνα τὸν ζυγὸν ἡμῶν
 δοῦλον δυσβάστακτον ἐπ' αὐχένι κείμενον ἄρῃ
 καὶ θεσμούς ἀθέους λύσει δεσμούς τε βιαίους.

3. Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα πάλιν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν·

15

Ταρταρόεν δὲ χάος δείξει τότε γαῖα χανοῦσα,
 ἥξουσιν δ' ἐπὶ βῆμα θεοῦ βασιλῆος ἅπαντες.
 Ῥεύσει δ' οὐρανόθεν ποταμὸς πυρὸς ἡδὲ θ<ε>εῖου.

1. 2-5 Orac. Sib. V,107-110; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. VII,18,5 2. 12-14
 Orac. Sib. VIII,326-328; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. VII,18,8 3. 16-18 Orac.
 Sib. VIII,241-243; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. VII,20,3

35. 278 *litteris αμνη in cod. D textus abrumptur; lac. septem linearum habet cod. λ*

1. 2 καὶ Lact. D λ Geffcken Mras Erbse: δ' αὖ Φ Ψ || ἐθέλων Lact. Φ
 Geffcken Erbse: om. Ω ἐθνῶν D λ Mras πόλιν ἐθέλων Ψ || 3 καὶ κέν τις
 Lact. D λ Ω Geffcken Mras Erbse: κάκεῖ τις Φ Ψ || βασιλεὺς—τοῦτον: σθε-
 ναρὸς βασιλεὺς ἐκπεμφθεὶς Φ Ψ || τοῦτον: om. Ω τοῦτο D λ Mras || 4 φώτας:
 ἄνδρας Φ Ψ || 5 κρίσις ἔσται ὑπ' ἀφθίτου: τέλος ἔσται ἀφθιτον Φ Ψ 2.
 12 ὅς ῥά κε πραῦς ἰδοὺ ἦξει, *supplevi*: om. D λ || ἵνα τὸν ζυγὸν ἡμῶν Lact. Ω
 D λ Geffcken Mras Erbse: ἵνα τοι ζυγὸν ὄνπερ ὑπῆμεν Φ Ψ || 13 δοῦλον:
 δούλειον Ω || δυσβάστακτον ἐπ' αὐχένι Lact. Φ Ψ Ω Geffcken Mras Erbse:
 δυσβάσταυρον ἐπαυχένιον D λ || 14 ἀθέους: ἀθέσμους Φ Ψ || λύσει Lact.:
 λύσει *cell.* 3. 16 ταρταρόεν Lact.: ταρτάρων *cell.* || 17 ἥξουσιν Lact. Φ
 Geffcken Mras Erbse: ἥξουσι D λ Ψ Ω || βασιλῆος Lact. D λ Geffcken
 Mras Erbse: βασιλῆες Ω Φ Ψ || ἅπαντες Lact. Φ Ψ Ω Geffcken: ἅπαντων
 D λ Mras Erbse || 18 θεεῖου *suppl.* Alexandre *appr.* Geffcken Mras Erbse:
 θείου D λ || ρεύσει—θεεῖου om. Lact.

4. Καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ ἢ αὐτὴ οὐχ ἁμαρτάνουσα τοῦ σαφοῦς καὶ ἀληθοῦς τάσδε ἀφίησι φωνάς·

20

Οὐρανὸν εἰλίξω, γαίης κευθμῶνας ἀνοίξω,
καὶ τότε ἄναστήσω νεκροὺς μοῖραν ἀναλύσας
καὶ θανάτου κέντρον, καὶ ὕστερον εἰς κρίσιν ἄξω
κρίνων εὐσεβέων καὶ δυσσεβέων βίον ἀνδρῶν.

5. Ὅρθῳς οὖν ὁ Ἑσαΐας προεκήρυξεν· ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐλιγίσεται ὡς βιβλίον·
(i), ὁρθῳς δὲ ὁ Δανιήλ προεφήτευσεν τὸ αὐτοφνὲς τῆς ἀληθείας· ἐθεώρουν,
φησίν, ἕως οὗ θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν καὶ βίβλοι ἀνεψόχθησαν καὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν
ἐκάθητο ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ μεγίστῳ φόβῳ· (j) οὐ μείζων οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς.

25

6. Ὡς πέφυκας, ἀναλλοίωτε δέσποτα, καὶ ὡς ἐποίησας ἡμῖν αἰεὶ, μνήσθητι
τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος καὶ τῆς φωνῆς σου ἣς ἀφῆκας ἡμῖν, ὅτι τὰ παρὰ
ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατα δυνατὰ σοι τῷ θεῷ ἐστί, καὶ ἰλάσθητι ἔνεκεν τοῦ
ὀνόματός σου, ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος καὶ μόνος πολυέλεος· καὶ σὺ δέ, ἅγια
θεοτόκε παρθένε Μαρία, ἣς ἐγγύτερον ἐν ἀγάπῃ μετὰ τὸν σύναρχον αὐτοῦ
πατέρα καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα οὐκ ἔχει <ὁ υἱός>, μία ἐξ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν
φύσιν, οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ὑπάρχουσα, συμπάθησον καὶ τὸν πρὸ
αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων δὲ ἐκ σοῦ γεννηθέντα ἰκέτευσον ὑπὲρ
πάντων προβαλλομένη τὸν τόκον σου καὶ τὰς καθαρὰς καὶ πανάγνους
ἀγκάλας σου, αἱ αὐτὸν ἐβάστασαν, ὅπως τὰς ἡμετέρας πρόσ<σ>χη δεήσεις,
φθάσῃ δὲ πάντῃ καὶ πάντως ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ ἄφατον αὐτοῦ ἔλεος καὶ ῥυσθῶμεν
ἐκ τῆς ἐπερχομένης τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς δικαίας ὀργῆς ἐν τῇ φορικτῇ καὶ φοβερᾷ
ἐλεύσει αὐτοῦ.

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35

40

7. Καὶ ἄλλη δὲ Σίβυλλα ὥσπερ μαινομένη ἐκβοᾷ·

Κλῦτε δέ μου, μέροπες, βασιλεὺς αἰώνιος ἄρχει.

4. 21–24 Orac. Sib. VIII,413–416; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. VII,20,4 7. 43
Orac. Sib. fr. 4 Geffcken; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. VII,24,2

i) Is. 34,4 j) Dan. 7,9–10; cf. 10,7

4. 21 εἰλίξω Lact. H D λ Geffcken Mras Erbse: εἰλήξω Ω (*praeter* H) εἰλίξει
Φ Ψ || κεθμῶνας Φ || ἀνοίξει Φ Ψ || 22–23 καὶ τότε—ἄξω *om.* Ω || 22
ἀναστήσει Φ Ψ || νεκροὺς: νέκρας Φ Ψ || ἀναλύσας: καταλύσας Φ Ψ || 23
ἄξω Lact. D λ Mras Erbse: ἤξω *coni.* Struve *apbr.* Geffcken ἤξει Φ Ψ || 24
κρίνω Ω || βίον *om.* Ω 5. 25 ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐλιγίσεται Mras Erbse (εἰληγίσεται
D ἐλιγίσεται λ): καὶ ἐλιγίσεται ὁ οὐρανός LXX || 27 οὐ D λ Mras Erbse:
ὅτε LXX || ἀνεψόχθησαν D λ Mras Erbse: ἠνεψόχθησαν LXX 6. 33
παρθένε *ante* Μαρία D Erbse: *om.* λ Mras || σύναρχον λ Mras Erbse: συνά-
ναρχον D || αὐτοῦ *em.* Erbse: αὐτοῦ D λ Mras || 34 ὁ υἱός *ins.* Erbse:
δεσπότης (*vel* Χριστός) *prop.* Mras || 38 πρόσ<σ>χη *suppl.* Erbse: πρόσχη D
λ πρόσχη λ₁ Mras || 39 πάντῃ *ego.* πάντῃ *cell.*

Δεδιότες, φησί, τὸν κριτὴν πυκτεύσατε εὐσεβῶς τῷ βίῳ πολλὰς ἔχοντες ἀφορμάς, ἵνα τὸν ἀκήρατον δέξησθε στέφανον, πρὶν <ἂν> ἡ ἀνυπέρβατος ἔλθῃ συντέλεια καὶ ἡ εὐκταία ἀνάστασις, καταδράξασθε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς δάκρυσιν κατασβέσατε τὸ πῦρ τῆς γέννησης, δυσὶν ὀβολοῖς τὸν παμβασιλέα καὶ χορηγὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας ὀφειλέτην κτήσασθε καὶ ἐναδήσασθε τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, περιπτύξασθε τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, τὰς ἐντολὰς πληρώσατε καὶ οὐ μὴ γεύσησθε θανάτου· δι' ἐγκράτειαν γὰρ Ἡλίας ἀνελήφθη καὶ διὰ πίστεως Ἐνὼχ μετετέθη εἰς τὸν αἰθαλῆ παράδεισον [καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς μένει ὡς οἱ προλεχθέντες ἕως τῆς δευτέρας τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίας θανάτου ἁμοιρος].

8. Ἄλλῃ δὲ πάλιν προφητὴς καταθέλλεσθαι τοὺς θεοφιλεῖς καὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἀπολαύειν ζωῆς τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς θείου φίλτρου τοῦτον προαγορεύει τὸν τρόπον·

Εὐσεβέων δὲ μόνων ἁγία <χθὼν> πάντα τὰδ' οἶσει,
νῆμα μελισταγέης ἀπὸ πέτρης ἡδ' ἀπὸ πηγῆς
καὶ γλάγος ἀμβροσίης ρέουσι πάντεσσι δικαίοις.

9. Ἡ δὲ Ἐρυθραία προορῶσα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ψυχῶν τὸ τυφλὸν καὶ ἄλαλον καὶ πολλὴν καταγινώσκουσα μανίαν αὐτῶν οὕτως πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλέγεται·

εἰ δ' ἄρα γεννητὸν καὶ φθείρεται, οὐ δύνατ' ἀνδρὸς
ἐκ μηρὼν μήτρας τε θεὸς τετυπωμένος εἶναι.

10. Ὡς ἀληθῶς γὰρ μόνος ὕψιστος ἀγέννητος, τὰλλα δὲ πάντα γεννητά· ἀγεννήτῳ δὲ πρὸς γεννητὸν ποῖα μῖξις; εἰ δὲ μίγνυται, οὐ θεὸς οὐδ' ἀνώλεθρος φύσις· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀθάνατος ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἄϋλος, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ὑπείσέλευστις

8. 57–59 Orac. Sib. V,281–283; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. VII,24,14 9. 63–64 Orac. Sib. fr. 3,1–2 Geffcken; cf. Theoph., Ad Autol. II,36; Hippol., Ref. V,16,1; Lact., Div. Inst. I,8,3

7. 45 ἂν ins. Mras *appr.* Erbse || 49 *cum codd.* D λ *et* Mras *post* λόγου *interpuncti: post* πίστιν Erbse || 51–53 *verba* καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαι—θανάτου ἁμοιρος *probabiliter expungenda* || 52 τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον *prop.* Erbse: τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου D λ Mras 8. 54 καταθέλλεσθαι D Erbse: καταλέγεσθαι λ Mras || 56 προαγορεύει D Mras Erbse: προσαγορεύει λ || 57 εὐσεβέων δὲ μόνων ἁγία χθὼν Lact. Geffcken Mras Erbse (χθὼν *om.* D λ): ἐβραίων δὲ χθὼν ἁγία ἔστι (ἔστι W') Φ ἐβραίων δὲ μόνων ἡ χθὼν ἁγία ἔστι Ψ || πάντα τὰδ' οἶσει Lact. D λ W' Geffcken Mras Erbse: πάντα δ' οἶσει *cett.* || 58 νῆμα Lact. Φ Ψ Geffcken Mras Erbse: ἅμα D λ || μελισταγέης Lact. D λ Mras Erbse: μελισταγέουσ' Alexandre μελισταγέος Φ Ψ Geffcken || ἡδ' ἀπὸ πηγῆς: καὶ διὰ γλώσσης Φ Ψ || 59 γλάγος Lact. Geffcken Mras Erbse: γάλακτος D λ γάλα τ' Φ μάλα τ' Ψ || ἀμβροσίης Lact. D λ Mras Erbse: ἀμβρόσιον Φ Ψ Geffcken 9. 63 εἰ δ' ἄρα—φθείρεται D λ Mras Erbse: *om.* Lact. εἰ δὲ γεννητὸν ὅλως καὶ φθείρεται Theoph. Geffcken εἰ γὰρ τι γεννητὸν ὅλως καὶ φθείρεται Hippol. || ἀνδρὸς: ἄνδρες Theoph. H 10. 66 μῖξις *em.* Mras: μῖξις D λ Erbse

γονῆς θεοῦ εἰς αἰὶ διαμένοντος καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος. Κατὰ τοῦτο <ἄρα ἀνάγκη τὸν> ἄυλον καὶ ἀνείδεον ἄρ<ρ>ευστον εἶναι, τῷ δὲ ἄρ<ρ>εύστῳ καὶ ἀνείδέῳ μηδὲν κοινὸν μετὰ τῶν ἐκ μίξεως καὶ εἰδοποιῶν.

70

11. Κατὰ φύσιν μὲν οὖν οὕτως, κατὰ χάριν δὲ καὶ φιланθρωπίαν ἡνώθη ὁ θεὸς λόγος ἀνθρώπῳ σὰρξ γενόμενος διχα ῥεύσεως ἀνδρὸς καὶ συγχύσεως καὶ τροπῆς. Ἐν τούτῳ γάρ ἐστι τὸ μυστήριον ἐν τῷ νενικῆσθαι τὴν ἀνθρωπεῖαν φύσιν καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν μὲν θεὸν λόγον ἐκουσίως καὶ ἀτρέπτως ἄνθρωπον καὶ μεῖναι ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον κατὰ χάριν τῇ ἐνώσει θεόν.

75

12. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ποιητὴς παντοδύναμος ὁ θεός, λόγῳ ἢ θελήσει μόνῃ, ὅσα καὶ οἷα βούλεται, παράγει. Καὶ ὡς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ἢ φύλλοις καὶ πόαις, οὐ χρεῖα <τῷ θεῷ> διαδοχῆς γένους· ἔχει μὲν γὰρ [καὶ] ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν καὶ λόγον, δι' οὗ πάντα, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀγιαστικὸν καὶ ζωοποιὸν πνεῦμα ἐν ἰδίᾳ ὑποστάσει, ἀλλ' ἔχει ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνως καὶ συνυφεστώτως καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἀχωρίστως καὶ ἀρρήτως. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ εἰς θεὸς καὶ μία οὐσία ἡ ἀγία καὶ ἀγιαστικὴ Τριάς, καθὰ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ πρώτου βιβλίου καὶ ἐφεξῆς μέχρις ὑστάτου σὺν θεῷ φάναι ἀβιάστῳ λόγῳ ἀπὸ Γραφῶν ἐταξάμεθα.

85

13. Αἰνιττομένη δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ τῶν δαιμόνων τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχθραν καὶ ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαγείαις, ἀστρολογίαις, οἰωνοσκοπίαις, μαντεῖαις τε καὶ νεκρομαντεῖαις καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλα κακὰ ἐνεργεῖται, διὰ συντόμων ἐδήλωσεν οὕτως·

ἐπεὶ πλάνα πάντα τὰδ' ἐστίν,
ὅσσαπερ ἄφρονες ἄνδρες ἐρευνῶσι κατὰ ἡμαρ.

90

13. 90–91 Orac. Sib. III,228–229; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. II,16,1

68 εἰς *em.* Mras *appr.* Erbse: ἐς D λ || κατὰ *scripsi*: μετὰ *cell.* || τοῦτο *em.* Mras *appr.* Erbse: τούτῳ D λ || 68–69 ἄρα *add.* Erbse *ante verba* ἀνάγκη τὸν *quae suppl.* Mras || 69 ἄρευστον et ἀρεύστῳ D λ: *em.* Mras *appr.* Erbse **11.** 72 ὁ θεὸς λόγος D λ: ὁ θεοῦ λόγος Mras Erbse || 74 τὸν μὲν θεὸν λόγον *scripsi*: τὸν μὲν θεοῦ λόγον *cell.* **12.** 79 τῷ θεῷ *inserui* || 80 καὶ *ante* ὁ θεὸς *delevi* || 81 αὐτοῦ *em.* Mras || 84 μέχρι Erbse **13.** 90 ἐπεὶ Lact.: ἔρρει D λ Mras Erbse τὰ γὰρ Φ Geffcken καὶ γὰρ R L' *om.* Ω || πλάνα πάντα Lact. Φ Geffcken Mras Erbse: πλάνη πάμπαν D λ πλάνα ταῦτα R L' || τὰδ' ἐστίν Lact. D λ Mras Erbse: πέφυκεν Φ R L' Geffcken *om.* Ω || 91 ὅσσαπερ Lact. D λ Mras Erbse: ὅσσα κεν *cell.* || ἐρευνῶσι Lact. (*praeter cod.* P: ἐρευνῶσι) D λ Φ Ψ: ἐρευνῶσι Rzach Geffcken Mras Erbse ἐνεργοῦσι F'' ἐρευνῶσι F'' *ing.* || κατὰ ἡμαρ Lact. (*praeter cod.* P: κατ' ἡμαρ) D λ Φ Ψ: κατ' ἡμαρ Rzach Geffcken Mras: καθ' ἡμαρ Erbse

14. Καὶ ἄλλη Σίβυλλα ἀπεχθανομένη τῷ Ἑλλήνων ἔθ<ν>ει διὰ τὴν καταφρόνησιν καὶ ἀμέλειαν τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν ἐντεῦθεν ὄλεθρον, τὰ τασσόμενα σκώπτουσα, αὐτῷ βοᾷ·

Ἑλλὰς δὴ, τί πέποιθας ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν ἡγεμόνεσσιν
<θητοῖς, οἷς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν θανάτοιο τελευτήν;>
Πρὸς τί τε δῶρα μάταια καταφθιμένοισι πορίζεις
θύεις τ' εἰδώλοισ; Τίς σοι πλάνον ἐν φρεσὶ θῆκεν
ταῦτα τελεῖν προλιπόντα θεοῦ μεγάλοιο πρόσωπον;
Ἄλλὰ τί δὴ θνητοῖσιν ὀνειδέα ταῦτ' ἐπιβάλλω;

95

100

15. Καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα[

Fragm. B

[Ἐπιγραφή· Τῆς Σιβύλλης, ἥτις δι' ἀποκαλύψεως τὸ ὄραμα τῶν ἑκατὸν κριτῶν τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως Ῥώμης διεσάφησεν]

1. Παραγενομένης τῆς Σιβύλλης ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῇ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ μεγάλου ἕως μικροῦ. Οἱ δὲ ἑκατὸν κριταὶ ὑπήντησαν αὐτῇ λέγοντες· Ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ σύνεσις τῆς βασιλείας σου μεγάλη ἐστίν. Νῦν διασαφηνίσον ἡμῖν τὸ ὄραμα ὃ εἶδαμεν σήμερον [οἱ ἑκατὸν κριταὶ]· καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα διασαφηνίσει αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ οὐ δυνάμεθα γνωρίσαι'. Ἀποκριθεῖσα δὲ ἡ Σίβυλλα ἔφη αὐτοῖς· Ἀπέλθωμεν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως Ῥώμης· καὶ γενηθῇ τὸ τριβουνάλιον'. Καὶ ἐγένετο καθὼς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς.

5

10

14. 95–100 Orac. Sib. III,545–549 + versus novus; cf. Lact., Div. Inst. I,15,15

14. 92 ἔθνει *suppl.* Mras *appr.* Erbse: ἔθει D λ || 94 σκώπτουσα *em.* Mras *appr.* Erbse: σκόπτουσα D λ || 95 ἡγεμόνεσσιν: ἡγεμόσιν D λ || 96 *versum* θνητοῖς—τελευτήν; *inserui ex* Orac. Sib.: *om. cett.* || 97 τί τε Lact. Φ Ψ Geffcken: τί δὲ D λ Mras Erbse *om.* Ω || 98 θύεις *vel* θύεις τ' Lact.: θύεις τ' Φ Ψ Geffcken *om.* Ω θύεις δ' D λ Mras Erbse || τίς σοι Lact. Erbse: τίς τοι Φ Ψ Geffcken Mras *om.* Ω τί D λ || 99 τελεῖν Lact. Φ Ψ Geffcken: *om.* Ω ποιεῖν D λ Mras Erbse || προλιπόντα Lact. D λ Mras Erbse: προλιπούσα Φ Geffcken προλιποῦσι Ψ προλιπεῖν τε Brandt || 100 *versus* ἀλλὰ—ἐπιβάλλω *in solis codd.* D *et* λ *invenitur* || ὀνειδέα *em.* Erbse: ἀνειδέα D λ Mras
15. 101 *post* ἕτερα D *et* λ *abruptuntur*

1–2 *titulum spiritum expurgendum putavi; verbum* ἐπιγραφή *tantum uncis incl.* Alexander
1. 6 ἡμῖν A K: *om.* Q Alexander || εἶδαμεν *em.* Alexander: οἶδαμεν K Q || οἱ ἑκατὸν κριταὶ Q: *secl.* Alexander || 9 τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως *em.* Alexander: τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως K ἐν μεγάλῃ πολῇ (*sic*) Q || καὶ—τριβουνάλιον *om.* A

2. Καὶ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτούς· ‘Ἀπαγγεῖλατέ μοι τὸ ὄραμα ὃ εἶδατε, καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ διασαφηνίσω ὑμῖν’. Καὶ καθίσασα ἡ Σίβυλλα ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ ἔσωθεν τῶν ἐλαιῶν ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς λέγουσα· ‘Τί εἶδατε ἀπαγγεῖλατέ μοι’. Καὶ ἀποκριθέντες οἱ ἑκατὸν κριταὶ λέγουσι πρὸς αὐτὴν· ‘Εἶδαμεν ὅτι ἐννέα ἥλιοι ἔλαμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν’. Καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἡ Σίβυλλα 15 ἔφη αὐτοῖς· ‘Οἱ ἐννέα ἥλιοι ἐννέα γενεαὶ εἰσιν’. Λέγουσι πρὸς αὐτὴν· ‘Οὕτως δεῖ γενέσθαι, κυρία ἡμῶν, πάντα ὅσα εἶδαμεν ἐν τῷ ὀράματι ἀπαγγελωμέν σοι’. Καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἡ Σίβυλλα εἶπεν· ‘Οὕτως δεῖ γενέσθαι. [Καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῇ οἱ κριταὶ· ‘ὥς εἶδαμεν τὸ ὄραμα, οὕτως καὶ ἀπαγγελωμέν σοι’. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ἡ Σίβυλλα.] Πῶς γὰρ εἶδατε;’ 20

3. Λέγουσιν αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνοι· ‘Εἶδαμεν οὕτως· ὅτι ὁ πρῶτος ἥλιος πολυποίκιλος, ἀκτινολαμπής, φωτεινότατος, παμμεγέθης, λαμπρὸς σφόδρα. Ὁ δεῦτερος ἥλιος ὑπέρλαμπρος, παμμεγέθης, πολυποίκιλος, ἀκτινολαμπής. Ὁ τρίτος ἥλιος αἱματοειδής, тарταροειδής, παμμεγέθης, πῦρ φλέγον. Ὁ τέταρτος ἥλιος αἱματοειδής, тарταροειδής. Ὁ πέμπτος ἥλιος αἱματοειδής, φω- 25 τεινότατος, ἀπαστράπτων ὥς ἐν βροντῇ ὑετοῦ. Ὁ ἕκτος ἥλιος ὀμυχλοφανής, χιονοειδής, αἱματοειδής. Ὁ ἑβδομος ἥλιος тарταροειδής, αἱματοειδής, φοβερός. Ὁ ὄγδοος ἥλιος ἀκτινολαμπής ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ χροᾶς. Ὁ ἕνατος ἥλιος ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους тарταροειδής, ἀπαύγασμα ἔχων’.

4. Καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἡ Σίβυλλα εἶπεν· ‘Οἱ ἐννέα ἥλιοι ἐννέα γενεαὶ εἰσιν. 30 Ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἥλιος πρώτη γενεὰ ἐστίν· ἄνθρωποι ἄκακοι, πολυχρόνιοι, ἐλεύθεροι, ἀληθεῖς, πραεῖς, ἐπεικεῖς, ἀγαπῶντες ἀλήθειαν. Ὁ δεῦτερος ἥλιος δευτέρα γενεὰ ἐστίν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἀληθινοὶ, πραεῖς, φιλόξενοι, ἄκακοι, ἀγαπῶντες τῶν ἐλευθέρων τὸ γένος. Ὁ τρίτος ἥλιος τρίτη γενεὰ ἐστίν· ἀναστήσεται βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν, ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος, γενήσονται 35 πόλεμοι [πλὴν φιλόξενοι καὶ ἐλεήμονες ἔσονται] ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει.

2. 11 εἶδατε *corr.* Alexander: οἶδατε K Q || 12 διασαφηνίσω *em.* Alexander: ἀπαγγεῖλω K διασαφηνίσω Q σαφηνίσω A || καθίσασα K καθεστήσα Q || 13 εἶδατε *corr.* Alexander: οἶδατε K Q A || 15 εἶδαμεν Alexander: οἶδαμεν K Q A || 17–18 ἀπαγγελωμέν σοι Alexander: *om.* K ἀπαγγέλομέν σοι Q ἀπαγγέλλομέν σοι A || 18–20 *verba* καὶ λέγουσιν—ἡ Σίβυλλα *exurgenda existimavi* 3. 21 πολυποίκιλος *om.* K A || 22 φωτεινότατος: φοβερός Q || παμμεγέθης *om.* A || 24–25 ὁ τέταρτος—тарταροειδής *om.* A || 26 ὥς ἐν βροντῇ Alexander (*sicut in tonitruo w¹*): ὥς βροντὴν K ὥσι Q ὥσει A || 28 χροᾶς (*vel* χροιάς) *scripsi Latinis versionibus nisis (vide codd. w³ w⁴ w⁵: colorem):* χεῖρας A Q Alexander || ἐν μέσῳ χροᾶς: ἐπιχεῖρας K 4. 31 πρώτη *om.* Q || ἄκακοι: κακοὶ (*sic*) Q || 32 *ante* ἀλήθειαν *add.* πᾶσαν A Q || 33 δευτέρα: δευτέρη K *om.* Q || 34 τῶν ἐλευθέρων τὸ γένος: τὸ ἐλεύθερον γένος Q || 35 ἀναστήσονται βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς A || 35–36 γενήσονται πόλεμοι ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει (τιρήμι πόλεως Q) *scripsi Latinis versionibus nisis* (*erunt pugne multe in Roma w¹; erunt pugne nimium multe in Roma w⁴ et w⁵*) || 36 *verba* πλὴν—*ἔσονται delenda putavi*

5. Ὁ τέταρτος ἥλιος τετάρτη γενεά ἐστίν· θεότης πολλή φανήσεται ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ· ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ γυνή ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραΐδος χώρας ὀνόματι Μαρία καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν. Καὶ λύσει τὸν νόμον τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ ἴδιον νόμον στήσει, καὶ βασιλεύσει ὁ νόμος αὐτοῦ. 40
Καὶ ἀνοιγήσονται αὐτῷ οἱ οὐρανοί, καὶ φωνὴν λήψεται, καὶ στρατιαὶ ἀγγέλων τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ βαστάσουσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐξαπτέρυγα τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ προσκυνήσουσιν. Καὶ λήψεται ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ νομοθετήσει αὐτοῖς καὶ εἴπη πρὸς αὐτούς· Τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἐλάβετε παρ' ἐμοῦ, κηρύξατε αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα δύο γλωσσῶν'. 45

6. Καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῇ οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἑβραίων· Φρικωδεστάτη δέσποινα ἡμῶν, ἐρωτήσαι σε ζητοῦμεν'. Καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἡ Σίβυλλα λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς· “Ὁ βούλεσθε ἀπαγγέιλαι μοί'. Καὶ λέγουσι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνοι· “Ἀκοὴν ἠκούσαμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς τῶν οὐρανῶν υἱὸν μέλλει τίκτειν. Πιστεύεις ὅτι τοῦτο γίνεται, κυρία ἡμῶν;” Λέγει ἡ Σίβυλλα πρὸς 50
αὐτούς· “Ὑμεῖς οὐ πιστεύετε ὄντες ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἑβραίων;” Λέγουσιν αὐτῇ· “Ἡμεῖς οὐ πιστεύομεν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς υἱὸν μέλλει τίκτειν. Καὶ γὰρ λόγον ἔδωκε τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν τοῦ μὴ ἄραι τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ἡμῶν'. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ἡ Σίβυλλα· “Ὁ νόμος οὗτος σκόλοψ ὑμῖν ἐστίν'. Καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῇ· ‘Καὶ τί λέγεις, δέσποινα ἡμῶν, περὶ τοῦ ζητήματος τούτου;’ 55

7. Καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἡ Σίβυλλα εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς· “Ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ υἱὸν μέλλει τίκτειν, ὃς ὅμοιος τῷ πατρὶ ἔχει εἶναι καὶ ὁμοίωμα νηπίου λήψεται. Καὶ ἀναστήσονται κατ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς, Ἀλέξανδρος, Σέλευκος καὶ Ἡρώδης, οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι σῶσαι ἑαυτούς. Ποιήσουσι διωγμοὺς πολλοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν χώραν καὶ φονεύσουσι νήπια μετὰ τῶν γονέων αὐτῶν 60
ὥστε τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν αἱματι συγκερασθῆναι· καὶ οὐδὲν ὠφελήσουσιν. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλὰς θεραπειὰς ποιήσει ὁ ἐπὶ ξύλου μέλλων σταυρωθῆναι. Καὶ ὡς θυσιάσουσι <***> τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῆς, ἀκούσωσι τὰ σημεῖα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν χώραν.

5. 37 θεότης πολλή *scripsi*: θεότης πολλῇ K A θεότητος · πολλὰ Q θεότητος γονή Alexander || 38 ἑβραίδων K || 39 *post* τέξεται *add.* κατὰ τὰ νομικὰ παραγγέλματα A || 42 *post* ἀγγέλων *add.* καὶ ἐξουσίαι ἀρχαγγέλων Q || βαστάζουσι K A || 43 προσκυνοῦσιν K || 44 αὐτοῖς *post* νομοθετήσῃ *inserui*: αὐτοῦς (*sic*) A *om.* *cell.* || εἴπη *corr.* Alexander: εἶποι K εἶπει A 6. 47–48 πρὸς αὐτούς: αὐτοῖς Q || 49 ἀκοὴν *om.* K || ἐθνῶν: ἑβραίων (*sic*) A || 51–52 πιστεύετε—οὐ *om.* Q 7. 56 εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς *om.* Q || τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Q (*vide etiam* Deus celi w¹ et dominus celi w⁴ et w⁵): τῶν οὐρανῶν *cell.* || 57 ὃς: ὁ K || ὁμοίως A || ἔχει εἶναι καὶ: ἔχειν · ἦνεγκεν Q (*similis erit patri suo w¹ est w⁴ et w⁵*) || 58 λήψεται *om.* Q || βασιλεῖς κατ' αὐτοῦ K || 59 διωγμοὺς *prop.* Alexander: δὲ λιμοὺς K A δὲ λοιμοὺς Q || 60 τοὺς γονεῖς K || 62 πολλοὺς θεράπους K || 63 θυσιάσωσι K Q; *lac. post hoc verbum susp.* Alexander || ἀκούσαντες A

8. Καὶ ἀναστήσεται βασιλεὺς ὀνόματι Αὐγουστος ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ· καὶ ὑποταγῆσεται αὐτῷ πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη. Καὶ ἕκαστος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κληθήσεται [Αὐγουστος]. Τὸ ξύλον τὸ τρισμακάριστον, ἐν ᾧ Χριστὸς μέλλει τανύεσθαι <***> καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συναχθήσονται τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ ὄχλοι, καὶ ὁ μέλλων ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθῆναι ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ θεραπεύσει πολλούς. Κρεμάσουσι τρεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ξύλου καὶ καλάμῳ νύξουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδικήσουσιν αὐτόν.

9. Ἐν δὲ τῇ πέμπτῃ γενεᾷ ἀναστήσονται τρεῖς βασιλεῖς, Ἀντίοχος, Τιβέριος καὶ Γαίος, καὶ πολλοὺς διωγμοὺς ποιήσουσι διὰ τὸν ἐν ξύλῳ σταυρωθέντα. Καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσουσι τὰ ἱερὰ Ἡλίου πόλεως καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοῦ Λιβάνου. Καὶ οἱ ναοὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης παμμεγέθεις εἰσὶ καὶ εὐπρεπεῖς ὑπὲρ πάντα ναὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης.

10. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἕκτῃ γενεᾷ ἀναστήσονται δύο βασιλεῖς ὀλιγοχρόνιοι καὶ ποιήσουσι διωγμοὺς πολλοὺς κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. Καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν κρινούσι καὶ ἀπολέσουσι τὰ τάγματα τῶν συγκλητικῶν καὶ θανατώσουσιν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν ὠφελήσουσιν.

11. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται βασιλεὺς ὀνόματι Κωνσταντῖνος, φοβερός καὶ κραταιὸς πολεμιστής, καὶ λύσει πάντας τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοῦ Λιβάνου καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν καὶ ταπεινώσει τοὺς Ἑλληνας. Καὶ φανήσεται αὐτῷ σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπιζητήσει ἡ μητὴρ αὐτοῦ Ἑλένη τὸ ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὅπου ὁ Χριστὸς μέλλει σταυρωθῆναι, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γῆν. Καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσει Βυζάντιον, καὶ ἀλλαγῆσεται τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης, καὶ κληθήσεται εὐδοκῶν πόλις Κωνσταντίνου. Καὶ ἐνοικήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῶν

8. 66 βασιλεύσει: βασιλεύσι Q δουλεύσει A || πᾶσα *om.* K, *sed vide omnem terram* w¹ w³ w⁴ w⁵ || 67 κληθήσεται: λαληθήσεται Q || Αὐγουστος *uncis recte incl.* Alexander || 68 *lac. post* τανύεσθαι *stat.* Alexander || 68-69 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα *om.* Q || 69-70 ὁ μέλλων—πολλοὺς *om.* Q || 70-71 τρεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν A: τρεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ K Alexander τρεῖς μετ' αὐτόν Q || 71-72 οὐδὲν αὐτόν ἀδικήσουσι ποιήσει δὲ σημεῖα (*sic*) πολλὰ Q 9. 73 τρεῖς: εἰ (= πέντε) A || 74 διὰ τὸν ἐν ξύλῳ σταυρωθέντα: τῷ ἐπιξύλῳ κρεμασθέντι K τῶν ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθέντων A || 75 ἀνοικοδομήσουσι: ὠνοίξουσιν Q || τὰ ἱερὰ Ἡλίου πόλεως: τὴν ἱερακλείου πόλεως K τὰ ἱερὰ Ἰλιουπόλεως A || 76 ναοὶ: βωμοὶ (*sic*) Q || *verba* εἰσὶ καὶ εὐπρεπεῖς *om.* K A 10. 79 πολλοὺς κατὰ *om.* K A || 80 ἀπολέσουσι: λύσουσι Q || τὰ τάγματα τῶν συγκλητικῶν: στρατεύματα κατοικῶν (*sic*) Q στρατεύματα συγκλητικῶν A 11. 82 *ante* βασιλεὺς *add.* ἄλλος K || 83 ναοὺς: θεοὺς K || 84 καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν *om.* Q || αὐτῶν καὶ ταπεινώσει *om.* A || 86 σταυρωθῆναι *em.* Alexander: σταυρωθῆναι Q ἐσταυρώθη K A || 87 Ἰουδαίαν γῆν: ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ γῆν K ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ A || 88 τὸ ὄνομα *om.* A || 88-89 εὐδοκῶν πόλις Κωνσταντίνου *scripsi*: εὐδοκῶν πόλις K A Κωνσταντίνου πόλις *om.* K Εὐδοκόπολις Κωνσταντίνου πόλις Alexander || 89-90 γλωσσῶν ἐνοικήσουσι *transp.* A

ἐβδομήκοντα δύο γλωσσῶν. Μὴ καυχῶ, Βυζαντία πόλις, τρὶς γὰρ ἐξηκοστὸν 90
τῶν ἐτῶν σου οὐ μὴ βασιλεύσεις.

12. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσονται τρεῖς βασιλεῖς, Οὐάλης, ἔγγων 95
Κωνσταντίνου, Οὐαλεντ<ιν>ιανὸς καὶ Ἰουβιανός, καὶ ποιήσουσι διαγμους
πολλούς· καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς πυρ<ι> ἀναλωθήσεται, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀδικήσουσιν
οἱ βάρβαροι τὰς πόλεις τῆς Ῥωμανίας. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσονται 95
βασιλεῖς δύο, Γρατιανὸς καὶ Θεοδόσιος, δυνάσται κραταιοί, πολεμισταὶ
καὶ δικαιοκρίται, διδάσκαλοι τῆς πίστεως, καὶ λύσουσι τοὺς καταλειφθέντας
ναοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ γενήσονται οἱ ναοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς τάφους τῶν
ἀγίων.

13. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ γενεᾷ βασιλεύοντος Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Ὀνωρίου, γίνεται 100
Ῥώμη ρύμη καὶ πόλις ρύμης. Ἐν Φρυγίᾳ αἱματοχυσίαί γίνονται, Παμφυλία
ἐρημωθήσεται. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσονται δύο βασιλεῖς, Θεοδόσιος
καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανός, πραεῖς, ἐπιεικεῖς, καὶ ἀναστήσουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον
ἐπὶ πόλεμον. Συρία αἰχμαλωτισθήσεται, εἴθ' οὕτως ἀναστήσεται τυράν- 105
νων γένος ἰσχυρὸν, καὶ ληστεύσουσιν τὸν Ταῦρον τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ τὸν
Ἀντίταυρον τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ τὸν Λίβανον, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀνανεωθῶσιν αἱ
πόλεις αἷς παρῆκσαν τὸ πρότερον. Καὶ ἀναστήσονται οἱ Πέρσαι πρὸς
κραταιὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὀλισθήσονται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ δώσουσιν εἰρήνην
ἐπὶ ἑτὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

14. Καὶ εἰσέλθῃ ἀνὴρ †πρόπιος† πολεμιστῆς <εἰς Ἱερόπολιν> καὶ συν- 110
τρίψει τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοῦ Λιβάνου. Καὶ ἔλθῃ ἀκρις

90 βύζαντι πόλεις Q πόλις βυζαντία A || τρὶς γὰρ ἐξηκοστὸν *em.* Alexander: Γ XXX (*id est* τρὶς ἑξακοσιοστὸν = 1800) K Γ γὰρ X A **12.** 92 Οὐάλης *corr.* Alexander: οὐαλις K ιούλης Q ιουλήν A || ἔγγων: ἐγγον (*sic*) Q ἔγγονος A || 93 Κωνσταντίνου K: κων^{τιν} *vel* κων^{τιου} Q κων^ν A Κωνσταντίου Alexander || Οὐαλεντινιανὸς *scripsi*: βαλλεντιανὸς K βαλεντιανὸς (*sic*) Q βαλεντιανὸς A βαλεντ<ιν>ιανὸς *coni.* Alexander || ἰουβένιος Q ἰουβίνος A || 94 πυρὶ ἀναλωθήσεται *proph.* Alexander (*conburebitur in igne w³ igni conburetur w⁴ w³*): πῦρ ἀναλωθήσεται K A ὑπεραναλωθήσονται Q || 96 Γρατιανὸς *scripsi*: Μαρκανδός *cell.* || 97 καταλειφθέντας K || 98 *post* Ἑλλήνων *add.* καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοῦ λιβάνου K A **13.** 100 *cod.* K *haec verba transp. et falso post* γενεᾷ *coll.*: ἀναστήσεται τυράννων γένος βασιλεύοντες ἐνισχύι (*sic*) καὶ ληστεύσουσιν τὸν σταυρὸν τῆς ἀρμενίας καὶ τὸν λίβανον· καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀνανεωθῶσιν αἱ πόλεις· συρία αἰχμαλωτισθήσεται (*sic*) ὑπὸ || 101 Ῥώμη (*vide* Orac. Sib. III, 364 *et* VIII, 165; Roma w¹): Ῥωμανία Q || ρύμη: ρύμης ἐν Φρυγίᾳ A || πόλις ρύμης: πάλιν ρώμη K A || αἱματοχυσίαί *scripsi*: αἱματοχυσίαι K A αἰχμαλωσίαι Q Alexander || 103 Οὐαλεντινιανός: οὐαλέντιος K οὐαλε^νιανός (*sic*) Q || ἀναστήσονται Q A || αὐτῶν: αὐτοὺς K αὐτῆς Q || 103–104 πόλεμος ἐπὶ πόλεμον A ἐπὶ πολέμῳ (*sic*) Q || 104–108 Συρία—πόλεμον *om.* K || 105 Ταῦρον *corr.* Alexander: σταυρὸν *codd.* || 106 Ἀντίταυρον *corr.* Alexander: ἀντίσταυρον Q *om.* A **14.** 110–111 καὶ εἰσέλθῃ—πόλεων *scripsi versioni Latinae w¹ confisus*: *et intrabit vir belligerator rex Graecorum in Iheropolim (variae lectiones: hierapolim, hierapolium, ierapolym, neapolim, aepolim) et destruet templa ydolorum (vide etiam tunc surget rex generatus sanguine Greecorum super Hierosolimam, et destruentur templa idolorum apoca Libani w²): καὶ ἀνέλθῃ ἀνὴρ* (*sic*) πρόπιος πολεμιστῆς· καὶ συντρίψει τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν πόλεων K εἰσέλθῃ (*sic*) μὴρ προκαταπολεμηστὴν καὶ ἐπιστρέψει τακατα τῶν πόλεων Q εἰσέλθῃ ἀνὴρ πρόπιος· πολεμιστῆς (*sic*) καὶ στρέψει τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς πόλεως A || 110 εἰς Ἱερόπολιν *add.* Alexander *om. codd.* || 111 βουμος τῶν (*sic*) λιβάνων Q

καὶ βροῦχος πολὺς, καὶ καταφάγῃσι τὸν καρπὸν τῆς Συρίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας, καὶ λιμάξει Καππαδοκία. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γενήσεται εὐθηνία. Τότε γονεῖς τέκνα ἀρνήσονται καὶ τέκνα γονεῖς. Ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν παραδώσει εἰς θάνατον. Ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῇ συγκοιμηθήσεται καὶ πατὴρ θυγατρὶ συγγενήσεται, νεώτεροι γραίας λάβωσιν. Ἐπίσκοποι φάρμακοὶ ἔσονται καὶ πρεσβύτεροι πορνεύσουσιν. Καὶ αἱματοχυσαίαι γενήσονται εἰς <τὴν γῆν καὶ> τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν ἁγίων στρατιαὶ καὶ ἐξουσαίαι <βδελύξουσιν>. Καὶ ἔσονται μοιχεῖαι, πορνεῖαι, ἀνδρομανίαι, καὶ τὰ σχήματα αὐτῶν εἰς ἀτιμίαν καλέσουσιν. Ἔσονται δὲ πλεονέκται, ἄρπαγες, φιλόχρυσοι, ὑπερήφανοι καὶ ἀλαζόνες. Καὶ κατὰ τόπον προβάτων καὶ βοῶν θνήσκει γενήσεται.

15. Θράκη ἐρημωθήσεται ὑπὸ βαρβάρων προδοσίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῶν φιλαργυρίαν. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται Μαρκιανὸς καὶ γενήσονται πόλεμοι. Καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἀπὸ Ἀφρικῆς τύραννος ὀνόματι Γιζέριχος καὶ αἰχμαλωτεύσει τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ οὐκ ἀποφθαρεῖ ἀπὸ τῶν προμάχων ἕως πληρωθῇ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ· σταθήσεται δὲ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἑτὶ τριάκοντα. Καὶ ταπεινώσει τὴν Ῥώμην διὰ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῆς φιλαργυρίαν. Καὶ οὐ βασιλεύσει ἡ Ῥώμη ἕως τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ χρόνου αὐτῆς. Δαλματία καταποντισθήσεται πάνυ, Καμπανία καὶ Καλαβρία αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται.

112 καρπὸν K A: κόπον Q Alexander *cf.* arbores (*seu* labores) et fructus w¹ labores et fructus w² || 113 καὶ λιμάξει Καππαδοκία *om.* Q *cf.* fame cruciabuntur w¹ fame peribunt w² || 114 ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν: ἀδελφῇ ἀδελφοῦς K || 114–115 ἀδελφὸς—θάνατον *om.* A || 115 ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῇ συγκοιμηθήσεται *om.* Q ἀδελφαὶ ἀδελφῷ συγκοιμηθήσονται A || 116 γραίας *corr.* Alexander: γρέας *codd.* || 117–118 τὴν γῆν καὶ *ins.* Youtie *appr.* Alexander || 118 τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν ἁγίων K: τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγιάσματος αὐτῶν Q A || καὶ ἐξουσαίαι *codd.*: *om.* Youtie Alexander || βδελύξουσιν *add.* Youtie *appr.* Alexander: *om.* *codd.* *templa sanctores (sic) polluent* w¹ || 119 ἀνδρομανίαι: ἀνδρομαχεῖαι K sodomiticum scelus w¹ || 120–121 φιλόχρυσοι—γενήσεται: ἄσπλαγχνοι γενήσονται· ἐλάχιστορες καταπόλιν καὶ χώραν (*sic*) K **15.** 122 προδοσίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ *om.* K || 125 Γιζέριχος *em.* Alexander *e.g.* Procopium *secutus*: δούσαρχος K δῖρχος Q σιδήρχος A || ἀποφθαρεῖ *scripsit* Alexander: *om.* K A ἀποθάνει Q || 125–126 ἀπὸ τῶν προμάχων *em.* Alexander: ἀπὸ προμαχῶν K ἀπο τον προμάχων (*sic*) Q ἀπὸ προμάχων A || 126 πληρωθῇ ὁ χρόνος: ἔλθοι τὸ τέλος K || 127 ἑτὶ ᾧ K: ἑτὶ ᾧ Q A || ταπεινώσει: οὐ μὴ βοηθήσει Q A || 128 καὶ—Ῥώμη *om.* Q || 129 Δαλματία *corr.* Alexander: δαλμάτου Q δελματία A || Δαλματία—πάνυ *om.* K || Καμπανία καὶ Καλαβρία: καὶ καλαβρία καὶ σπανία A || 130 αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται: ἐρημωθήσεται K αἰχμαλωτισθήσεται A

16. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀγδόῃ γενεᾷ ἀναστήσεται βασιλεὺς θηριώνυμος. Ἄρχονται ὠδίνες τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτοῦ, σεισμοί, καταποντισμοὶ πόλεων καὶ χωρῶν, καὶ ἔσονται πόλεμοι καὶ καύσεις πόλεων. Θράκη ἐρημωθήσεται καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ διοικῶν ἢ ὁ διατάσσων τὴν Ῥωμανίαν. Ταυροκιλικία ὑψώσει τράχηλον, ἀναστήσεται δὲ Σκύλλα, γυνὴ τοῦ θηρίου τοῦ βασι- 135 λεύοντος, καὶ γεννήσει δύο κοιλίας, ἐξ ὧν μία ἄρρενα <γεννᾷ>, καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς. Καὶ ἔσται καὶ αὐτὸς συγκαθήμενος τῇ θηριωνυμίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς [αὐτοῦ], μίαν ὁμοίωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βασιλείας ἔχοντες.

17. Ἐν δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ φαίνεται Ἰσαυρος. Καὶ προσκυνεῖται οὗτος 140 ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς. Καὶ τότε εἴπωσιν ἐκεῖνοι λόγον βλασφημίας εἰς τὸν υἱὸν καθὼς ἔστιν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ κατενεχθῇ σφόδρα ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ ὁ πατὴρ [αὐτοῦ], κρατήσῃ δὲ ἡ ἐξουσία καὶ ἡ δυναστεία τῆς κοιλίας ἔτη τριάκοντα δύο. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γενηθῇ Ἰσαυρος βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔσται 145 μισῶν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ φύγῃ <εἰς> τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ.

18. Καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἄλλος βασιλεὺς, οὐτινος τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι τοῦ θηρίου 150 συρτοῦ. Γράφεται δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θηρίου ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου γράμματος· ὅ ἐστι Βασιλίσκος. Καὶ λαλήσῃ βλασφημίαν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, καὶ διὰ τὴν βλασφημίαν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς χλευασθεὶς κακῶς ἀπολείται καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πᾶσα ἡ συγγένεια αὐτοῦ.

19. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑποστρέψει Ἰσαυρος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, πλὴν οὐκ ἔστι διδομένη ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ. Ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ 155 ἐν γράμμασι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἀλφαβήτου, γραφόμενον δὲ Γραικῶς

16. 131 θηριώνυμος: *scholium* ὅ ἐστι λέων *add.* Q (δ) A || ἄρχονται *em.* Alexander: ἀρχὴ K A *arxi* (sic) Q || 132-133 πόλεων καὶ χωρῶν: πόλις καὶ χώρα καταποντισθήσεται K πόλεις καὶ χώραι καταποντισθήσονται A || 133 *post* πόλεμοι *add.* μεγάλοι ἐμπρισμοὶ καὶ K || *post* πόλεων *add.* καὶ αἰχμαλωσεῖται πολλαὶ K || 135 ὑψώσει τράχηλον: ἐρημωθήσεται K || 136 γεννᾷ *add.* Youṭie *abbr.* Alexander || 137 *post* πατρὸς *false* *add.* αὐτοῦ K Q || 137-139 καὶ αὐτὸς—ἐχοντες: καθήμενος καὶ αὐτὸς μία ὁμοιώμασιν μετὰ τοῦ θηρίου εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ K A || 138 αὐτοῦ *post* πατρὸς *expungendum existimavi* 17. 140 Ἰσαυρος *em.* Alexander: καιρὸς *codd.* || 141 υἱόν: ἱν (= Ἰησοῦν) A || 142 κατενεχθῇ: καταβήσεται K κατενεχθεῖ Q || θρόνου: φόνου A || 143 αὐτοῦ *post* πατὴρ *omitendum putavi* || κοιλίας (*scil.* Ariadnes): *false* *scribit* σκύλλας (*scil.* Verinae) K || 144 τριάκοντα δύο *dubitanter scripsi*: νβ³ K Q A πεντήκοντα δύο Alexander || 144-145 καὶ ἔσται μισῶν: μέσον K || 145 εἰς *add.* Alexander 18. 146-147 θηριόσυρον (*sic*) Q || 148 ὅ ἐστι Βασιλίσκος: *fortasse scholium secludendum* || λαλήσῃ βλασφημίαν: λέγοσιν φλασφημίας (*sic*) Q || 149 χλευασθεὶς: χλεβάσθη (*sic*) καὶ Q || 150 αὐτὸς—συγγένεια: μετὰ τῆς συγγενίας Q || *post* αὐτοῦ *add.* μετ' αὐτοῦ K A 19. 152 ἔστι διδομένη ἐξ οὐρανοῦ *scripsit* Alexander: ἐστιν (*sic*) διδόναι ἐξ οὐνοῦ K ἐστι διδονεξᾶνω Q ἐστι διδόναι ἐξ ἀνοῦ A || 153 Ῥωμαίοις K A || ἀλφαβήτου *em.* Alexander: αβ K ἄλφα καὶ του (*sic*) βῆτα Q α'β' A || δὲ Γραικῶς Alexander: δὲ τὸ γρικόν K *om.* Q δὲ γραικῶν A

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐβδόμου γράμματος· οὗτινος τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι Γραικολατίνον. Καὶ
ἔσται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ δυνατή, ἀρέσκουσα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. Φιλῶν τοὺς 155
πένητας, δυνάστας καὶ πλουσίους ταπεινῶσει.

20. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται ἄλλος βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πόλεως
Ἐπιδάμνου, ὃ ἐστὶ Λατίνως Δυρραχίου· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως
κεκρυμμένον ἐστὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὁμοιοὶ δὲ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ 160
ἐσχάτῃ, γράφεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ γράμματος τοῦ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου. Ὅταν δὲ
λάβῃ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ κληθήσεται Ἀναστάσιος. Ἔστι δὲ φαλακρός,
εὐπρεπής, ὥς ἄργυρος τὸ μέτωπον αὐτοῦ, τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖραν ἔχων μακράν,
γενναῖος, φοβερός, μεγαλόψυχος καὶ ἐλεύθερος, μισῶν πάντας τοὺς πτωχοὺς.
Πολλοὺς δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ ἀπολέσει δικαίως ἀδίκως καὶ καθελεῖ τοὺς τρώσαντας
θεοσέβειαν. Καὶ ἀναστήσονται ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτοῦ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ 165
καταστρέψουσι τὰς πόλεις τῆς Ἀνατολῆς μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν τῆς Ῥωμανίας μαχαίρᾳ. Καὶ βασιλεύσει ἔτη ἔνδεκα.

21. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἄρπαγες, πλεονέκται, τύραννοι,
βάρβαροι, μισομήτορες [τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας] καὶ <ἀντί> τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ
τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πάσης ἐπιστήμης, βαρβάρων σχῆμα 170
ἀναλαμβάνοντες. Ληστεύσουσι τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἀντεχόμενος
τοῖς ποιήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν, ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν
πολλὴν αὐτῶν φιλαργυρίαν.

22. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ γενεᾷ κολοβωθήσονται τὰ ἔτη ὥσει μῆνες καὶ οἱ μῆνες
ὥσει ἐβδομάδες καὶ ἐβδομάδες ὥς ἡμέραι καὶ ἡμέραι ὥσει ὥραι. Καὶ 175

154 τοῦ ἐβδόμου γράμματος Alexander: τῶν εἴς γραμμάτων K τον ἑπτα γραμ-
μάτων (sic) Q τῶν ἑπτὰ γραμμάτων A || Γραικολατίνον *em.* Alexander:
γρεκολατίνον K Γρικολάτινος Q γραϊκολατεῖνον A || 156 δυνάστας καὶ
πλουσίους: δυνάστ (ας ?) πλουτῶν (sic) Q δύναται πλουτεῖν δυνάστας A **20.**
158 Ἐπιδάμνου *em.* Alexander: ἐπιδαμῶς K A ἐπιδαμος (sic) Q || Λατίνως
Δυρραχίου Alexander: λάτε ἔδωρακίου K λατήγος ἐν δυρραχίῳ Q λατίναι
δορακίῳ A || 160 ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου Alexander: IN K ἰώτα (sic) καὶ ἦτα Q ||
163 *ante* πτωχοὺς *add.* πένητας καὶ K || 164–165 τοὺς τρώσαντας θεοσέβειαν
vel quid aliud huiusmodi conieci: τοὺς θεωροῦντας (sic) θεοσέβειαν K τοὺς θεοὺς
τοὺς θεωροῦντας πάντας πλησίον· φυλάττον θεοσέβειαν καὶ προφήτας Q τοὺς
θεοὺς τοὺς θεωροῦντας πάντας πλην φυλάττον θεοσέβειαν καὶ προφήτειαν A
τηροῦντας θεοσέβειαν *prop.* Youtie *abbr.* Alexander || 167 ἔνδεκα *scripsi chrono-*
graphica computatione compulsus: λα K λ καὶ ἐν A *om.* Q τριάκοντα ἐν Alexander
|| *de duabus ultimis emendationibus* (τρώσαντας *et* ἔνδεκα) *vide* Beatrice in RQ 92
(1997), p. 182 *et* 185. **21.** 169 μισομήτορες: μηκρομήτριον K A || τὰς ἰδίας
πατρίδας *recte unci.* Alexander || ἀντί *ins.* Alexander || 169–170 τῆς
ἀρετῆς—ἐπιστήμης *scripsi:* τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς ἐποικίας καὶ τὰς ἀληθείας
πάσης ἐπὶ στήμης (sic) Q τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πάσης ἐπιστήμης A
τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπιεικείας Alexander || 171 ἀνεχόμενος Q A *sed vide non*
est in terra qui eis resistat w¹ || 172 *lac. ante* ἐργαζόμενοι *vel post* φιλαργυρίαν
fortasse statuendam exist. Alexander **22.** 174 ὥσει *em.* Alexander: ὥς ἡ K ὡση
(sic) Q ὥς οἱ A || 175 ἐβδομάδες *pr. em.* Alexander: ἐβδομάδαι K εὐδομάδες
Q -άδες A || καὶ ἡ ἐβδομάς ὥς ἡμέρα K οἱ εὐδομάδες ὥς ἡμέραι A || ἡμέραι
all. em. Alexander: ἡ ἡμέρα K ἡμέραις (sic) Q αἱ ἡμέραι A || ὥσει ὥραι: ὥς
ὥρα K ὥς αἱ ὥραι A

ἀναστήσονται δύο βασιλεῖς ἀπὸ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ δύο ἀπὸ Συρίας, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ Ἀσσύριοι ὥς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναριθμητοὶ καὶ παραλάβωσι πόλεις καὶ χώρας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἕως Χαλκηδονίας. Καὶ γενήσονται αἱματοχυσίαι πολλαὶ ὥστε γενέσθαι τὸ αἷμα εἰς τὸ στήθος τῶν ἵππων τοῦ συγκερασθῆναι τὴν θάλασσαν. Καὶ αἰχμαλωτεύσουσι καὶ ἐμπυρίσουσι τὰς πόλεις καὶ σκυλεύσουσι τὴν Ἀνατολήν. 180

23. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται ἄλλος βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ Ἀνατολῆς, οὐτινος τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι † Ὀλιβός†. Οὗτος λαμβάνει τοὺς τέσσαρας βασιλεῖς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτούς. Καὶ δώσει ἀτέλειαν τοῦ μὴ παρασχέσθαι δημόσιον τέλος καὶ ἀνανεώσει πάντας τοὺς λαοὺς τῆς Ἀνατολῆς πάσης καὶ τῆς Παλαιστίνης. 185

24. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται ἄλλος βασιλεὺς μορφὴν ἔχων ἡλλοιωμένην καὶ βασιλεύσει ἑπτὰ τριάκοντα καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσει τοὺς βωμοὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Καὶ πολεμήσει τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ θανατώσει αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ κρατήσει παῖδας ἀπὸ δώδεκα ἐτῶν. Καὶ κρατήσουσιν ἀσπίδας καὶ θηλάσουσι τὰς ἐχούσας τὰ βρέφη καὶ αἱμάσουσι διὰ τὰ φάρμακα τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς ἀνάγκας τῶν πολέμων. Οὐαὶ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις. Καὶ γενήσονται αἱ πόλεις τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ὄρη. 190

25. Καὶ σταθῇσεται ἀπὸ τοῦ μιανοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Καππαδόκων καὶ συρίσει καὶ εἴπη· ἄρα ποτε ὦδε πόλις ἦτο; Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσονται πόλεμοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἕως δυσμῶν. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται γυνή· ἀπὸ δυσμῶν 195

176 ἀνατολῶν Q || 177 παραλάβωσι *corr.* Alexander: παραλάβουσι K παραδώσει A || 178 πόλεις καὶ *scripsi Latina versione nisis civitates et w'*: πολλὰς *cell.* || Ἀνατολῆς: τῆς ῥωμανίας Q ῥωμανίας A || Χαλκηδονίας *scripsi* Alexander *Latinae versioni confisus* Calcedoniam w': εἰς χαλκιδῶνος K χαλκιδωνίας Q χαλκηδόνης A || 178–179 γενήσεται αἱματοχυσία πολλή A || 180 ἐμπυρίσουσι Q *om.* K || 181 καὶ σκυλεύσωσι K *om.* Q || τὴν Ἀνατολήν: τὰς ἀνατολὰς πάσας K **23.** 182 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα: εἰθούτως Q || 183 Ὀλιβός *verbum desperanter corruptum*: Ὀλιβός K ολιβός (*sic*) Q Ὀυλιβός A || οὗτος: οὕτως K τουτέστι Q || λαμβάνει *em.* Alexander: ἀναλαμβάνεται K λαμβανῇ (*sic*) Q λαμβάνουσι A || 184 ἀτέλειαν: τελείαν K || παρασχέσθαι *corr.* Alexander: ἐξέρχεσθαι K παρέσχεσθαι Q παρέρχεται A || 185 δημόσια τέλη A || 186 παλαιστίνης πάσης Q A **24.** 187–188 ἡλλοιωμένην K ἡλληωμένην (*sic*) Q || 188–189 *post* τῆς Αἰγύπτου (τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Q) *add.* εἰς μορφὴν (*sic*) Q – ἦν A || 190 παιδίων A || ἀπὸ δώδεκα ἐτῶν *em.* Alexander: ἀπὸ ἰβ ἐτῶν K A ἀποϊτῶν δώδεκα Q || 191 ἀσποῖδας Q ἀσπίδα A || 191–192 αἱμάσουσι *em.* Alexander: ξηράσουσι K (*add.* τὸν ἰόν) Q ἐμέσουσι A || 192 τὰ φάρμακα τῆς ἀνάγκης K || τὰς ἀνάγκας *om.* K **25.** 195 μιανοῦ ἔθνους: μιανοῦ εἰδους K μικροῦ ἔθνος Q || συρίσει *em.* Alexander: συρήσει K συρήσει Q συριάσει A || 196 πόλεις (*sic*) ὦδε (ὦδε Q) Q A || ἦτο *scripsi* Youitie *abbr.* Alexander: εἶτον K ἦτον Q ἦτον A || 196–197 ἀναστήσονται—μετὰ ταῦτα *scripsi*: ἀναστήσονται πόλεμοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἕως δυσμῶν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα K ἀναστήσονται πόλεμοι ἀποδυσμῶν ἕως ἀνατολῆς καὶ (*sic*) A *om.* Alexander

ἕως ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου δράμη καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδῃ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐπιθυμήσει ἵχνος ἀνθρώπου καὶ οὐ μὴ εὕρῃ. Καὶ εὐροῦσα ἄμπελον καὶ ἐλαίαν εἶπη· ἄρα πού ἐστιν ὁ φυτεύσας ταῦτα; Καὶ περιπλακείσα τοῖς δένδροις τούτοις 200 ἀποδώσει τὸ πνεῦμα· καὶ φάγωσιν αὐτὴν λύκοι.

26. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ Ἡλίου πόλεως καὶ πολεμήσει τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ θανατώσει αὐτόν. Καὶ δώσει ἀτέλειαν εἰς ὅλας τὰς χώρας ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, καὶ δώσει ἡ γῆ τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἐστιν ὁ ἐσθίων. 205

27. Καὶ ἥξει ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἀπωλείας <ὁ> ἡλλοιωμένος καὶ πατάξει καὶ θανατώσει αὐτόν. Καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Τὸν ἥλιον ἐπιστρέψει εἰς σκότος καὶ τὴν σελήνην εἰς αἷμα. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αἱ πηγαὶ καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ ξηρανθήσονται, καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος Αἰγύπτου εἰς αἷμα μεταστραφήσεται. Καὶ ὀρύξουσιν λάκκους οἱ περιλειφθέντες ἄνθρωποι ζητοῦντες 210 ὕδωρ ζωῆς καὶ οὐχ εὕρησουσιν.

28. Καὶ τότε φανήσονται δύο ἄνδρες, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν πείραν θανάτου, Ἐνὼχ καὶ Ἡλίας, καὶ πολεμήσουσι τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἀπωλείας. Καὶ εἶπη· ἥγγικεν ὁ καιρὸς μου, καὶ θυμωθεὶς θανατώσει αὐτούς. Καὶ τότε ὁ ἐπὶ ζύλῳ σταυρωθεὶς ἥξει ἐξ οὐρανῶν ὡς φωστὴρ μέγας καὶ ἀστράπτων 215 καὶ ἀναστήσει τοὺς δύο ἄνδρας ἐκείνους.

29. Καὶ πολεμήσει ὁ ἐπὶ σταυροῦ κρεμασθεὶς τὸν υἱὸν τῆς ἀπωλείας καὶ θανατώσει αὐτόν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ. Τότε καήσεται ἡ γῆ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πῆχεις δώδεκα, καὶ ἡ γῆ βοήσει πρὸς τὸν θεόν· κύριε, παρθένος

198 ἕως ἀνατολῶν καὶ K || ἴδῃ: δεῖ K ἥδη (sic) Q || 198–199 καὶ ἐπιθυμήσει—εὕρῃ om. A || 199 εἶπη om. Alexander: εἶποι K καὶ εἶπει (sic) Q καὶ εἶπη A || 200 πού Alexander: ποῦ K || ταῦτα: τὴν ἄμπελον καὶ τὴν ἐλαίαν ταύτην A || 200–201 τοῖς—πνεῦμα: τῇ ἐλαίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἁμπέλῳ τελευτήσῃ (sic) K τοῖς αὐτῆς γόνασιν καὶ ἀποδώσει τὸ πνεῦμα A || 201 φάγωσιν corr. Alexander: φάγουσιν codd. || αὐτὴν λύκοι: ἡ λυκὴ αὐτὴν (sic) Q αὐτὸν λύκοι (sic) A **26.** 202 ante βασιλεὺς add. ἕτερος K add. ἄλλος A || ἡλιοῦ πόλεως A || 203 παραδώσει K δώσει Q || 204 τέλεια K || ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ: ἐπὶ ἔτη ἦ καὶ μῆνας (sic) ἕξ K ἐπὶ (sic) γῆν ? Q ἐπὶ ᾧ χρόνους καὶ μῆνας ς· A || 205 τὸν καρπὸν K **27.** 206 ὁ ante ἡλλοιωμένος add. Alexander || ἡλλοιωμένος K ἡλλοιωμένος (sic) Q || 208 εἰς αἷμα: εἰσέμα (sic) Q || μετὰ ταῦτα om. Q || 209 Νεῖλος: ἡλῖος A || αἶγυπτον Q || 209–210 ἀποστραφήσεται A || post μεταστρα—explicit Q || 210 περιληφθέντες K || ἄνθρωποι ζητοῦντες: ἀναζητοῦντες A || 211 ζωῆς: εἰς ζωὴν αὐτῶν A || οὐχ εὕρησουσιν: οὐ μὴ εὕρωσι A **28.** 212 ἄνθρωποι K || 213 πολεμήσωσι K ὀνειδίσουσιν A || post ἀπωλείας add. A: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ θανατώσει αὐτούς (sic) · καὶ βρύξει ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἀπωλείας || 214 θανατώσει—τότε om. A || 214–215 ὁ—σταυρωθεὶς om. K || 215 οὐρανῶν A || post μέγας add. λαμπρῶς A || post ἀστράπτων perit A qui tamen finem doxologiae servat: πάντων τῶν ἁγίων· νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν **29.** 218 καήσεται corr. Alexander: καίσεται K || 219 πῆχεις corr. Alexander: πῆγας K || δώδεκα: ἰβ K

εἰμί. Καὶ πάλιν καίσεται ἡ γῆ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πῆχεις ὀκτωκαίδεκα, καὶ ἡ 220
 γῆ βοήσκει πρὸς τὸν θεόν· κύριε, παρθένος εἰμί. Καὶ τότε ἤξει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
 θεοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς εἰς τὸ κρίναι τὰς ἐννέα γενεάς. Καὶ
 τότε βασιλεύσει ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντος, μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων
 αὐτοῦ. Ἀμήν, γένοιτο, ἀμήν.'

220 καίσεται K: *iterum corr.* Alexander || πῆχας K: *iterum corr.* Alexander ||
 ὀκτωκαίδεκα: ιη K

1. Sitting near the spring of waters at Glousa of Hurîn, at the place chosen for bathing by the ancient kings, Zoroaster opened his mouth and spoke thus to his disciples Hystaspes, Sassan and Mahman. 5
2. "I address you, my friends and my sons, whom I have nourished with my doctrine. Listen to me, and I shall reveal to you the wondrous mystery about the great king who must come into the world. Indeed, at the end of times, at the moment of dissolution which puts an end to them, a child will be conceived and will be formed with all his limbs in the womb of a virgin untouched by man. He will be like a tree with fine branches and laden with fruits, standing on arid ground. 10
3. The inhabitants of that land will oppose his growth and strive to uproot him from the ground, but they will not succeed. Then they will seize him and kill him on the scaffold; the earth and the sky will go into mourning for his violent death and all the families of nations will weep for him. He will open the descent into the depths of the earth; and from the depth he will rise towards the Most High. Then he will be seen coming with the army of light, borne on white clouds, because he is the son conceived by the Word which generates all things". 15 20
4. Hystaspes said to Zoroaster:
"He of whom you said all that, whence comes his power? Is he greater than you, or are you greater than he?" 25
5. Zoroaster said to him:
"He will arise from my family and my lineage. He is I and I am he. He is in me and I am in him. When the beginning of his coming is made manifest, great wonders will appear in the sky. A bright

1-6. 3-43 Ps. Hystaspis Liber Sapientiae, fr. ap. Theod. Bar-Koni, Liber Scholiorum, Mimrā VII,21, Scher, II, pp. 74 sq.

star will be seen in the middle of the sky, its light will be greater 30
than that of the sun. Now, my sons, you the seed of life, issued from
the treasure of light and of the spirit, which has been sown in the
soil of fire and water, you will have to be on your guard and watch
out for what I have told you, waiting for it to come about, because
you will know in advance of the coming of the great king, whom 35
captives await so that they may be set free.

6. So now, my sons, guard the mystery that I have revealed to you;
let it be written in your heart and preserved in the treasure of your
souls. And when the star of which I spoke arises, let messengers be 40
sent by you, laden with gifts, to adore him and make offers to him.
Do not neglect him, lest he makes you perish by the sword, for he
is the king of kings and it is from him that all receive the crown. I
and he are one”.

<XPONIKON>

I

- 1,1. Ἡμεῖρα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, uxor autem eius Aeuā. Ab Adam usque ad diluuium Noe generationes X, anni autem duo milia ducenti quadraginta duo.
2. Ἐζήσῃ δὲ Ἀδάμ ἔτη σλ' καὶ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Σήθ. Mortuus est autem Adam annorum noningentorum treginta. 5
3. Καὶ ἔζῃσῃ Σήθ ἔτη σε': fiunt simul anni quadringenti XXXV, καὶ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἐνώς. Mortuus est autem Seth annorum noningentorum duodecim.
4. Καὶ ἔζῃσῃ Ἐνώς ἔτη ρθ': fiunt simul anni sexcenti uiginti quinque, καὶ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Καϊνάν. Mortuus est autem Enos annorum noningentorum quinque. 10
5. Καὶ ἔζῃσῃ Καϊνάν ἔτη ρο': fiunt simul anni DCC nonaginta quinque, καὶ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Μαλελεήλ. Mortuus est autem Cainan annorum noningentorum X. 15
6. Καὶ ἔζῃσῃ Μαλελεήλ ἔτη ρξε': fiunt simul anni noningenti sexaginta, καὶ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰάρεδ. Mortuus est autem Malelehel annorum octingentorum nonaginta <quinque>.
7. Καὶ ἔζῃσῃ Ἰάρεδ ἔτη ρξβ': fiunt simul anni mille centum uiginti duo, καὶ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἐνώχ. Mortuus est autem Iared annorum noningentorum LXII. 20
8. Καὶ ἔζῃσῃ Ἐνώχ ἔτη ρξε': fiunt simul anni mille ducenti octuaginta VII, καὶ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Μαθουσάλα. Placuit autem Enoch deo factus annorum tricentorum sexaginta quinque et translatus est.
9. Καὶ ἔζῃσῃ Μαθουσάλα ἔτη ρξζ': fiunt simul anni mille quadringenti 25

1,1–5,8. 2–96 Hippolyti Συναγωγὴ χρόνων καὶ ἐτῶν ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἕως τῆς ἐνεστῶσης ἡμέρας 23–43, pp. 8–10 Bauer-Helm

1 XPONIKON *planitatis causa inserui; in marg. sup. fol. 1r cod. E' legitur*: Cronica georgii ambionensis ἐπὶ uel sicut alii dicunt uictoris turonensis ἐπὶ *et in marg. inf.*: cronica georgii ambione

1,4. 10 uiginti *scripsi*: quinquaginta E' 1,5. 14–15 noningentorum X *scripsi*: noningentorum XC E' 1,6. 18 quinque *addidi*: om. E'

LIII, καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν Λάμεχ. Mortuus est autem Mathusalam annorum noningentorum LXVIII.

10. Καὶ ἔζησε Λάμεχ ἔτη ρη΄: fiunt simul anni mille DCXLII, καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν Νῶε. Mortuus est autem Lamech annorum septingentorum <LIII>.

30

2,1. Καὶ ἦν Νῶε ἐτῶν ϕ΄: fiunt simul anni duo milia CXLII, καὶ ἐγέννησε τρεῖς υἱοὺς τὸν Σὴμ τὸν Χάμ τὸν Ἰάφεθ.

2. Et factum est cum homines multiplicarentur super terram et filias procreassent. Videntes autem angeli dei filias hominum quod essent pulchrae, acceperunt sibi uxores ex omnibus quas elegerant.

35

3. Et dixit dominus deus: Non permanebit spiritus meus in hominibus istis in aeternum quia caro sunt, eruntque dies eorum annorum CXX.

4. Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis et ultra. Cumque introissent angeli dei ad filias hominum, illaeque genuerunt, illi fuerunt gigantes a seculo homines nominati.

40

5. Corrupta est autem terra coram deo et repleta est terra iniquitate. Et uidit dominus deus terram quia corrupta erat: omnis quippe caro corruperat uiam suam super terram.

6. Et dixit dominus deus ad Noe: Tempus omnium rerum uenit coram me. Et quia repleta est terra iniquitate eorum, et ecce corrumpam eos et terram. Fac autem tibi arcam de lignis quadratis et linies eam intrinsecus et extrinsecus asfaltu bitumini. Et quod sequitur.

45

3,1. Et fecit Noe omnia quae praeceperat illi dominus deus. Μετὰ δὲ ἔτη ρ΄ τοῦ τεχθῆναι τὸν Σὴμ γίνεται ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ὄντος τοῦ Νῶε ἐτῶν χ΄: fiunt autem simul anni duo milia ducenti quadraginta duo, et diluuium aquarum factum est super terram quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus.

50

2. Et mortua est omnis caro quique habuit spiritum uitae in semet ipso super terram, ab homine usque ad pecus et reptile et ferarum et omnium quod erat super terram habens spiritum uitae in semet ipso.

55

3. Post haec autem in sexcentesimo primo anno exiit Noe et omnes qui cum eo erant de arca. Γίνονται οὖν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ γενεαὶ δέκα ἔτη ,β<σ> μβ΄.

4. Et a diluuiio Noe usque ad turris aedificationem et confusione<m> linguarum generationes sex, anni autem quingenti quinquaginta octo.

60

1,10. 30 LIII *addidi*: om. E' 2,3. 37 eruntque *em*. Frick: erunt que E' 2,4. 39 illaeque *scripsi*: ille que E' illeque Frick 2,5. 42 quia *em*. Frick: quia quia E' 2,6. 45 iniquitate *emendavi*: iniquitates E' Frick 3,3. 58 σ *ins*. Bauer-Helm: ,βμβ΄ H' 3,4. 59 confusionem *emendavi*: confusione E'

4,1. Hii sunt autem filii Noe, Sem, Cham et Iafeth <***> post diluuium sic. Αῖται αἱ γενέσεις Σήμ· Σήμ ὦν ἐτῶν ρ' ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀρφαξᾶδ ἔτους δευτέρου μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν: fiunt simul anni duo milia trecenti quadraginta tres.

2. Καὶ ἔζησεν Ἀρφαξᾶδ ἔτη ρλε': fiunt simul anni duo milia quadringenti septuaginta octo, καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν Καϊνάν. 65

3. Καὶ ἔζησε Καϊνάν ἔτη ρλ': fiunt simul anni duo milia sexcenti octo, καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν Σάλα.

4. Καὶ ἔζησε Σάλα ἔτη ρλ': fiunt simul anni duo milia septingenti treginta octo, καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἑβερ. 70

5. Καὶ ἔζησεν Ἑβερ ἔτη ρλδ': fiunt simul anni duo milia octingenti septuaginta duo καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν Φάλεγ [et Ragau fratrem eius]. Ἐπὶ τούτου γενεαὶ πέντε ἔτη φκε', ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀδάμ γενεαὶ ιε' ἔτη ,βψξζ'. Sub ipso facta est dispersio.

5,1. Et fuit omnis terra labia et uox una omnibus. Et factum est dum mouerent ab oriente, inuenerunt planum, quod est terra fructifera, in terra Sennaar et habitauerunt ibi. 75

2. Et dixit homo ad proximum suum: Venite, faciamus nobis lateres et coquamus eas igne. Et facta est eis ipsa latera quasi lapis, et bitumen erat illis lutus. 80

3. Et dixerunt: Venite, aedificemus nobis ciuitatem et turrem, cuius capud sit usque ad caelum, et faciamus nobis nomen, antequam dispersi fuerimus super omnem faciem terrae.

4. Et descendit dominus deus uidere ciuitatem et turrem, quam aedificauerant filii hominum. 85

5. Et dixit dominus deus: Ecce labia et uox omnibus una, et hoc initiarunt facere. Et nunc non minuitur ex ipsis omnia, quaecumque proposuerunt facere. Venite, descendentes dispersas faciamus ibi eorum linguas, ut non obaudiat unusquisque uocem proximi sui.

6. Et dispersit illos dominus deus inde super faciem omnis terrae, et cessauerunt aedificantes ciuitatem et turrem. 90

7. Propter hoc uocatum est nomen eius Confusio, quia ibi confudit dominus labia omnis terrae et exinde dispersit eos dominus deus super omnem faciem terrae.

8. Γίνονται οὖν ὁμοῦ ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἕως τῆς πυργοποιΐας καὶ συγχύσεως τῶν γλωσσῶν γενεαὶ μὲν ιε', ἔτη δὲ ,βω'. 95

4,1. 61 *lac. post Iafeth stat.* Frick || 61-62 diluuium *em.* Frick: dilu um E' **4,5.** 71 ρλδ' *scripsi; cf.* centu XXXIII E': ρλ' H' || 71-72 octingenti duodecim E' || 72 et Ragau fratrem eius *exp.* Frick || 74 facta *emendavi:* factum E' Frick **5,1.** 76 planum *scripsi:* paneum E' **5,8.** 95 *ante* Γίνονται *verba* Ἀρχὴ τοῦ χρονογράφου· ἀλλ' ἐν ἄλλοις βίβλοις εὐρήσεις πλατυτέρως τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν διαμερισμὸν μόνον ἐν συντόμῳ γεγράφαμεν *om.* E'

II

- 1,1.** Διαμερισμὸς τῆς γῆς εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς υἱοὺς τοῦ Νῶε. Τῆς γῆς ὁ διαμερισμὸς τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς τοῦ Νῶε μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐγένετο οὕτως τῷ Σῆμ τῷ Χάμ καὶ τῷ Ἰάφεθ.
- 2.** Τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν αἱ φυλαὶ διεμερίσθησαν, καὶ τῷ μὲν Σῆμ τῷ πρωτοτόκῳ ἀπὸ Περσίδος καὶ Βάκτρων ἕως Ἰνδικῆς τὸ μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἕως Ῥινοκοροῦρων, Χάμ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἀπὸ Ῥινοκοροῦρων ἕως Γαδεῖρων τὰ πρὸς νότον, Ἰάφεθ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἀπὸ Μηδίας ἕως Γαδεῖρων τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν. 5
- 3.** Ἔχει δὲ Ἰάφεθ ποταμὸν Τίγγριν τὸν διορίζοντα Μηδίαν καὶ Βαβυλωνίαν in terra Assyriorum, ὁ δὲ Χάμ ἔχει ποταμὸν Γηὸν τὸν καλούμενον Νεῖλον [χρυσορρόαν], ὁ δὲ Σῆμ ἔχει [ποταμοὺς δύο] τὸν Εὐφράτην [καὶ τὸν Φισών]. 10
- 4.** Συνεχύθησαν δὲ αἱ γλῶσσαι μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ἦσαν οὖν αἱ συγχυθεῖσαι γλῶσσαι οὐβ', οἱ δὲ τὸν πύργον οἰκοδομήσαντες ἦσαν ἔθνη ο', οἱ καὶ ἐν γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐπὶ προσώπου τῆς γῆς διεμερίσθησαν.
- 5.** Νεβρώδ δὲ ὁ γίγας, υἱὸς Χοῦς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, οὗτος εἰς τὴν βρωσιν αὐτοῖς κυνηγῶν ἐχωρῇγει θηρία φαγεῖν. Τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα τῶν ἐβδομήκοντά ἐστι ταῦτα· 15

- 2,1.** Υἱοὶ Ἰάφεθ τοῦ τρίτου υἱοῦ Νῶε· Γάμερ, ἀφ' οὗ Καππάδοκες, Μαγῶγ, ἀφ' οὗ Κελτοὶ καὶ Γαλάται, Μαδάι, ἀφ' οὗ Μῆδοι, Ἰωῦαν, ἀφ' οὗ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἴωνες, Θωβέλ, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Θετταλοὶ, Μοσόχ, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Ἰλ<λ>υριοί, Θήρας, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Θράκες, Χαταίν, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Μακεδόνες. 20
- 2.** Υἱοὶ Γάμερ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἰάφεθ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Νῶε· Ἀσχανάθ, ἀφ' οὗ Σαρμάται, Ἐρισφάν, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Ῥόδιοι, Θωργαμά, ἀφ' οὗ Ἀρμένιοι.
- 3.** Υἱοὶ Ἰωῦαν υἱοῦ Ἰάφεθ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Νῶε· Ἐλισσά, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Σικελοί, Θαρσεῖς, ἀφ' οὗ Ἰβηρες <οἱ> καὶ Τυρ<ρ>ηνοί, καὶ Κίτιοι, ἀφ' οὗ Ῥωμαῖοι <οἱ> καὶ Λατῖνοι. 25

1,1-7,7. 1-263 Hippolyti Συναγωγὴ χρόνων καὶ ἐτῶν ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἕως τῆς ἐνεστάσης ἡμέρας 44-237, pp. 10-42 Bauer-Helm

1,1. 1 εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς υἱοὺς τοῦ Νῶε V'' om. H' Bauer-Helm **1,2.** 7 Γαδεῖρων H' Bauer-Helm: Γαρίρων V'' **1,3.** 10 in terra Assyriorum E': om. H' || 11 χρυσορρόαν exp. Bauer-Helm || ποταμοὺς δύο exp. Bauer-Helm || καὶ τὸν Φισών exp. Bauer-Helm **2,1.** 20 Ἰλυριοί H' Bauer-Helm **2,3.** 25 οἱ post Ἰβηρες ins. Bauer-Helm: om. H' || Τυρηνοί H' Bauer-Helm || 26 οἱ post Ῥωμαῖοι ins. Bauer-Helm om. H'

4. Πάντες οὗτοι υἱοὶ Ἰάφεθ τοῦ τρίτου υἱοῦ Νῶε· ἐκ τούτων ἀφωρίσθησαν νῆσοι τῶν ἔθνων. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι ἐκ τῶν Κιτιέων ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰάφεθ. Ὁμοῦ ἔθνη ιε'.
5. Ἐτι δὲ εὐρίσκομεν καὶ τοὺς ἐν βορρᾷ ὄντας ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁμοφύλους τῶν Κιτιέων. 30
6. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔθνη πάντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκτὸς τῶν μετῳκηκῶτων ὕστερον ἐκεῖ, οἷον Σαιτῶν, οἱ κατῳκησαν τιμωμένην πόλιν τὴν καλουμένην Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὰς <Θήβας, οἱ Σιδωνίων ἄποικοι εἰσιν ἐκ Κάδμου Ἀγῆ>νορος, καὶ οἱ Χαλκηδόνιοι δὲ τῶν Τυρρηνίων εἰσιν ἄποικοι, 35 καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι εἰς Ἑλλάδα μετῳκησαν.
7. Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἰάφεθ ἔθνη ἀπὸ Μηδίας ἕως τοῦ ἑσπερίου κατέσπαρται ὠκεανοῦ βλέποντα πρὸς βορρᾶν· Μῆδοι, Ἀλβανοί, Γαργανοί, Ἑρραῖοι, Ἀρμένιοι, Ἀμαζόνες, Κῶλοι, Κορζηνοί, Δενναγηνοί, Καππάδοκες, Παφλαγόνες, Μαριανδηνοί, Ταβαρηνοί, Χάλυβες, <Μοσσύνοικοι, 40 Σαρμάται, Σαυρομάται, Μαιῶται, Σκύθες, Ταύριοι,> Θράκες, Βασταρνοί, Ἰλ<λ>υριοί, Μακεδόνες, Ἕλληνες, Αἴγυρες, <Ἰστροι, Οὐεννοί, Δαυνεῖς, Ἰάπυγες, Καλαβροί, Ὀπτικοί, Λα>τῖνοι οἱ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι, Τυρρηννοί, Γάλλιοι <οἱ καὶ> Κελτοί, Λυγιστινοί, Κελτίβηρες, Ἰβηρες, Γάλλοι, <Ἀ>κουατινοί, <Ἰλλυρικοί>, Βάσαντες, Κυρ<τανοί, Λυσιτάνιοι, Οὐακκαῖοι, Κόννιοι, 45 Βρετταννοί, οἱ ἐν νή>σοις οἰκοῦντες.
8. Οἱ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτῶν γράμματά εἰσιν Ἰβηρες, Λατῖνοι οἷς χρῶνται οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Σπάνοι, Ἕλληνες, Μῆδοι, Ἀρμένιοι.
9. Ἔστι δὲ τὰ ὅρια αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Μηδίας ἕως Γαδεῖρων τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν, εὖρος δὲ ἀπὸ Τανάϊδος ποταμοῦ ἕως Μαστουσίας τῆς κατὰ Ἴλιον. 50
10. Αἱ δὲ χῶραι εἰσιν αὗται· Μηδία, Ἀλβανία, Ἀμαζόνις, Ἀρμενία μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλη, Καππαδοκία, Παφλαγονία, Γαλατία, Κολχίς, Σινδικὴ Ἀχαΐα, Βοσπορινή, Μαιῶτις, Δέρρης, Σαρματίς, Ταυριανή, Βασταρνίς, Σκυθία, Θράκη, Μακεδονία, Δελματία, Μολχίς, Θεσσαλία, Λωκρίς, Βοιωτία, Αἰτωλία, Ἀττικὴ, <Ἀχαΐα>, Πελοπόννησος, <Ἀκαρνία>, Ἡπειρώτης, 55 Ἰλλυρίς, ἡ Λυχνίτις, Ἀδριακὴ, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ Ἀδριακὸν πέλαγος, Γαλλία, Θουσκηνή, Λυσιτανία, Μεσαλία, Ἰταλία, Κελτίς, Σπανογαλία, Ἰβηρία, Σπανία ἡ μεγάλη. Ὁμοῦ μα'. Ἐνταῦθα καταλήγει τὰ ὅρια τοῦ Ἰάφεθ ἕως Βρεταννικῶν νήσων πᾶσαι τε πρὸς βορρᾶν βλέπουσαι.
11. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ νῆσοι ἐπίκειναι αὗται· Σικελία, Εὐβοία, Ῥόδος, 60

2,6. 34–35 Θήβας-Ἀγῆ *ins.* Bauer-Helm 2,7. 40–41 Μοσσύνοικοι-Ταύριοι *ins.* Bauer-Helm: *om.* H' || 42 Ἰλυριοί H' Bauer-Helm || 42–43 Ἰστροι-Λα *ins.* Bauer-Helm: *om.* H' || 44 οἱ καὶ *post* Γάλλιοι *ins.* Bauer-Helm: *om.* H' || Ἀκουατινοί *em.* Bauer-Helm || 45 Ἰλλυρικοί *ins.* Bauer-Helm || 45–46 τανοί-ἐν νή *ins.* Bauer-Helm 2,9. 50 Τανάϊδος *lectionem genuinam praebet Syncellus* p. 55 Mosshammer: Ποταμίδος H' Bauer-Helm || Ἴλιον *scripsi*: ἥλιον H' *'solem' per itacismum vertit Barbarus* 2,10. 52 Σινδική: Ἰνδική H' || 55 Ἀχαΐα *et* Ἀκαρνία *ins.* Bauer-Helm: *om.* H'

Χίος, Λέσβος, Κυθήρα, Ζάκυνθος, Κεφαλληνία, Ἰθάκη, Κέρκυρα καὶ αἱ Κυκλάδες καὶ μέρος τι τῆς Ἀσίας τὸ καλούμενον Ἰωνία. [Αὗται αἱ νῆσοι τῷ μέρει τοῦ Ἰάφεθ.]

12. Ποταμὸς δέ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς <Τίγρις> διορίζων Μηδίαν <καὶ> Βαβυλωνίαν. Ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ ὅρια τοῦ Ἰάφεθ τοῦ τρίτου υἱοῦ Νῶε.

65

3,1. Γενεαλογία τοῦ Χάμ <τοῦ> δευτέρου υἱοῦ τοῦ Νῶε. Οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Χάμ τοῦ δευτέρου υἱοῦ τοῦ Νῶε πρῶτος Χούς, ἐξ οὗ Αἰθίοπες, <καὶ> Μεστραεῖμ, ἐξ οὗ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ Φούδ, ἐξ οὗ Τρωγλοδύται, καὶ Χανάν, ἐξ οὗ <᾿Αφροι> καὶ Φοίνικες.

2. Οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Χοῦς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος <τοῦ υἱοῦ Χάμ τοῦ δευτέρου> υἱοῦ Νῶε Σαβὰ καὶ Εὐηλάτ καὶ Σεβακαθάθ καὶ Ῥεγμὰ καὶ Σεκατθά.

3. Οὗτοι Αἰθίοπες πρῶτοι κατὰ τὰς φυλάς αὐτῶν. Καὶ υἱοὶ Ῥεγμὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ Χοῦς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος <τοῦ υἱοῦ Χάμ> τοῦ <δευτέρου> υἱοῦ Νῶε Σάβατον καὶ Ἰουδάδ καὶ Νεβρώδ ὁ γίγας ὁ Αἰθίοψ.

[4. Γέγραπται γάρ· <καὶ Χοῦς ἐγέννησε τὸν Νεβρώδ τὸν Αἰθίοπα γίγαντα κυνηγόν—ὡς Νεβρώδ γίγας κυνηγός> (a)].

5. Καὶ Αἰγυπτίων πατριαὶ σὺν Μεστραεῖμ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν ὀκτώ. Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως· <Καὶ Μεστραεῖμ ἐγέννησε τοὺς Λυδιεῖμ, ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Λύδιοι, καὶ τοὺς Ἐνεμετεῖμ, ἐξ οὗ Πάμφυλοι, καὶ τοὺς Λαβιεῖμ, ἐξ οὗ Λίβυες, καὶ τοὺς Νεφθαλεῖμ, ἐξ οὗ Φρύγες, καὶ τοὺς Πατροσωνιεῖμ, ἐξ οὗ <Κρήτες, καὶ τοὺς Χασλωνιεῖμ, ἐξ οὗ> Λύκιοι, καὶ τοὺς Φυλιστιεῖμ, ἐξ οὗ Φιλιστιαῖοι, καὶ τοὺς Καφθοριεῖμ, ἐξ οὗ Κίλικες> (b).

6. Χαναναίων δὲ πατριαὶ σὺν Χαναν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν εἰσι ιβ'. Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως· <Καὶ Χαναν ἐγέννησε τὸν Σιδῶνα πρωτότοκον καὶ τὸν Χετταῖον καὶ τὸν Ἀμορραῖον καὶ τὸν Γεργεσσαῖον καὶ τὸν Εὐαῖον καὶ τὸν Ἀρουκαῖον, ἐξ οὗ Τριπολίται, καὶ τὸν Ἀσενναῖον, ἐξ οὗ Ὀρθωσιασταί, καὶ τὸν Ἀράδιον, ἐξ οὗ Ἀράδιοι, καὶ τὸν Σαμορραῖον, ἐξ οὗ Σαμαρεῖται, <καὶ τὸν Φερεζαῖον, ἐξ οὗ Φερεζαῖοι>, καὶ τὸν Ἀματθῆ, ἐξ οὗ Ἀμαθούσιοι> (c).

a) Gen. 10,8–9

b) Gen. 10,13–14

c) Gen. 10,15

2,11. 62–63 αὐται· Ἰάφεθ *exp.* Bauer-Helm 2,12. 64 Τίγρις *et* καὶ *ins.* Bauer-Helm 3,1. 66–68 τοῦ—καὶ—᾿Αφροι *ins.* Bauer-Helm: *om.* H' 3,2. 70 τοῦ υἱοῦ Χάμ τοῦ δευτέρου *ins.* Bauer-Helm: *om.* H' 3,3. 73 *verba* τοῦ υἱοῦ Χάμ *et* δευτέρου *ins.* Bauer-Helm: *om.* H' 3,4. 75–76 γέγραπται-κυνηγός *exp.* Bauer-Helm 3,5. 79 Ἐνεμετεῖμ *scripsi*: *Enemigim* E' Τενιεῖμ H' Bauer-Helm || 80 Φρύγες *scripsi*: Φυγάδες H' Bauer-Helm *Fygabii* E' || Πατροσωνιεῖμ *scripsi*: Πατροσονιεῖμ H' Bauer-Helm || 80–81 Κρήτες—ἐξ οὗ *inserui* || 81–82 καὶ τοὺς Φυλιστιεῖμ ἐξ οὗ Φιλιστιαῖοι (Φοίνικες H') *om.* E' 3,6. 87–88 καὶ τὸν-Φερεζαῖοι *ins.* Bauer-Helm

7. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἡ κατοικία ἀπὸ Ῥινοκορούρων ἕως Γαδεῖρων τὰ πρὸς νότον ἐπὶ μῆκος. 90
8. Τὰ δὲ ἐκ τούτων γεννηθέντα ἔθνη. Αἰθίοπες, Τρωγλοδύται, Ἀγγαῖοι, Ταγηνοί, Ἰσακηνοί, Ἰχθυοφάγοι, Ἑλλαντικοί, Αἰγύπτιοι, Φοίνικες, Λίβυες, Μαρμαρίδες, Κᾶρες, Ψυλλῖται, Μυσοί, Μοσυνοί, Φρύγες, Μάκωνες, Βιθυνοί, Νομάδες, Λύκιοι, Μαριανδηνοί, Πάμφυλοι, <Μοσοσυννοί>, Πισιδηνοί, 95
 Αὐγαλαῖοι, Κίλικες, Μαυρούσιοι, Κρήτες, Μαγάρται, Νούμιδες, <Μάκρωνες>, Νασαμῶνες. Οὗτοι διακατέχουσιν ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ νοτιαίου ὠκεανοῦ.
9. Οἱ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτῶν γράμματα Φοίνικες, Αἰγύπτιοι, Πάμφυλοι, Φρύγες. 100
10. Ἔστι δὲ τὰ ὅρια τοῦ Χάμ ἀπὸ Ῥινοκορούρων τῆς ὀριζούσης Συρίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Αἰθιοπίαν ἕως Γαδεῖρων ἐπὶ μῆκος.
11. Τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα τῶν χωρῶν ἐστὶ ταῦτα· Αἴγυπτος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν πᾶσιν, Αἰθιοπία ἡ βλέπουσα κατὰ Ἰνδούς, καὶ ἑτέρα Αἰθιοπία, ὅθεν ἐκπορεύεται Γηὼν ὁ <τῶν Αἰθιόπων> ποταμὸς ὁ καλούμενος Νεῖλος, 105
 Ἐρυθρὰ ἡ βλέπουσα κατὰ ἀνατολὰς, Θηβαῖς ὅλη, Λιβύη ἡ παρεκτείνουσα μέχρι Κορκυρίνης, Μαρμαρὶς καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν πάντα, Σύρτις ἔχουσα ἔθνη τρία, Νασαμῶνας Μάκας Ταυταμαίους, Λιβύη ἑτέρα ἡ παρεκτείνουσα <ἀπὸ Λέπτεως> μέχρι μικρᾶς Σύρτεως, Νουμίδα, Μασσυρίς, Μαυριτανία ἡ παρεκτείνουσα μέχρι Ἑρακλείων στηλῶν κατέναντι Γαδεῖρων. Ἐχει δὲ 110
 ἐν τοῖς κατὰ βορρᾶν τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν, Κιλικίαν, Παμφυλίαν, Πισιδίαν, Μυσίαν, Λυγδονίαν, Φρυγίαν, Καμηλίαν, Λυκίαν, Καρίαν, Λυδίαν, Τρωάδα, Αἰολίαν, Βιθυνίαν, τὴν ἀρχαίαν καλουμένην Φρυγίαν.
12. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ νῆσοι ἐπικοινωνοῦσαι αἶδε· Κόρσυλλα, Λαπάδουσα, Γαῦλος, Μελίτη, Κέρκινα, Μηνίς, Ταυριανίς, Σαρδανίς, Γαλάτη, Γορσύνη, Κρήτη, 115
 Γαυλορίδη, Θήρα, Καρίαθος, Ἀστυπάλια, Χίος, Λέσβος, Τένεδος, Ἴμβρος, Ἰασός, Σάμος, Κῶος, Κνίδος, Νίσυρος, μεγίστη Κύπρος, ὁμοῦ νῆσοι κε'. Αὗται αἱ νῆσοι δουλεύουσι τῷ Χάμ καὶ τῷ Ἰάφεθ τοῖς δύο υἱοῖς τοῦ Νῶε.
13. Ἐχει δὲ Χάμ ποταμὸν Γηὼν τὸν καλούμενον Νεῖλον τὸν κυκλοῦντα πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον <καὶ> Αἰθιοπίαν· ὀρίζει δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ Χάμ καὶ τοῦ 120
 Ἰάφεθ τὸ στόμα τῆς ἐσπερινῆς θαλάσσης. Αὕτη τοῦ Χάμ ἡ γενεαλογία <τοῦ δευτέρου υἱοῦ τοῦ Νῶε>.

4,1. Γενεαλογία τοῦ Σὴμ τοῦ πρωτοτόκου υἱοῦ Νῶε. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Σὴμ τοῦ πρωτοτόκου υἱοῦ Νῶε εἰσὶ φυλαὶ κε' · οὗτοι πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ὤκησαν.

3,8. 94 Φρύγες *scripsi*: Φρυγάδες H' Bauer-Helm || 95 Μοσοσυννοί *ins.* Bauer-Helm: *om.* H' || 96-97 Μάκρωνες *scripsi*: Μακάριοι H' || 97 Νασαμῶνες *scripsi*: Νασαμίδες H' Νασαμ<ων>ίδες Bauer-Helm 3,11. 105 τῶν Αἰθιόπων *ins.* Bauer-Helm: *om.* H' || 108 Νασαμόνας H' || 109 ἀπὸ Λέπτεως *ins.* Bauer-Helm: *om.* H' 3,13. 120 καὶ *ins.* Bauer-Helm || 122 τοῦ δευτέρου υἱοῦ τοῦ Νῶε *add.* Bauer-Helm

2. Ἐλάμ, ὅθεν οἱ Ἐλυμαῖοι, καὶ Ἀσούρ, ὅθεν οἱ Ἀσσύριοι, καὶ Ἀρφαξάδ, 125
 ὅθεν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, καὶ Λούδ, ὅθεν οἱ Ἀλαζονεῖς, [καὶ Φούδ, ὅθεν οἱ Πέρσαι]
 καὶ Ἀράμ, ὅθεν οἱ Αἰῖται.
3. Καὶ υἱοὶ Ἀράμ υἱοῦ Σήμ υἱοῦ Νῶε· Ὡς καὶ Οὐλ, ὅθεν γεννῶνται Λυδοί,
 καὶ Γαθέρ, ὅθεν Γασφηνοί, καὶ Μοσόχ, ὅθεν Μοσυνοί.
4. Καὶ Ἀρφαξάδ ἐγέννησε τὸν Καϊνάν, ὅθεν γίνονται οἱ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς 130
 Σαμίται, καὶ Καϊνάν ἐγέννησε τὸν Σαλαθιήλ, ὅθεν γεννῶνται οἱ Σαλαθιαῖοι,
 καὶ Σαλαθιήλ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἑβερ, ὅθεν γεννῶνται Ἑβραῖοι. Καὶ τῷ Ἑβερ
 ἐγεννήθησαν υἱοὶ δύο· πρῶτος Φάλεχ, ὅθεν κατάγεται τὸ γένος τοῦ Ἀβραάμ,
 καὶ Ἰεκτάν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ.
5. Ἰεκτάν δὲ [ὁ ἀδελφὸς Φάλεχ] ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἐλμωδάδ, ὅθεν γεννῶνται 135
 οἱ Ἰνδοί, καὶ τὸν Σαλέφ, ὅθεν οἱ Βακτριανοί, καὶ τὸν Ἀράμ, ὅθεν οἱ Ἀρά-
 β<ι>ες, καὶ Ἱ<δ>ουράμ, ὅθεν Καρμήλιοι, καὶ Αἰθήλ, ὅθεν οἱ Ἀρειανοί,
 καὶ Ἀβιμεήλ, ὅθεν Ὑρκάνιοι, καὶ Δεκλάμ, ὅθεν Κεδρούσιοι, καὶ Γεβάλ,
 ὅθεν οἱ Σκύθες, καὶ Σαβάτ, ὅθεν οἱ Ἀλαμοσινοί, καὶ [Ἰ]Ουήρ, ὅθεν Ἐμμηραῖοι,
 καὶ Εὐεαί, ὅθεν Γυμνοσοφισταί. Οὗτοι πάντες ἐκ τοῦ Σήμ τοῦ πρωτοτόκου 140
 υἱοῦ Νῶε.
6. Πάντων δὲ τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Σήμ ἐστὶν ἡ κατοικία ἀπὸ Βάκτρων ἕως
 Ῥινοκορούρων τῆς ὀριζούσης Συρίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασ-
 σαν ἀπὸ στόματος τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρσινοίτην τῆς Ἰνδικῆς.
7. Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν γενόμενα ἔθνη· Ἑβραῖοι <οἱ> καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, 145
 Πέρσαι, Μῆδοι, Παῖονες, Ἀρειανοί, <Ἀσσύριοι>, Ὑρκάνιοι, Ἰνδοί,
 Μαγαρδοί, Πάρθοι, Γερμανοί, Ἐλυμαῖοι, Κοσσαῖοι, Ἀραβες, [οἱ] πρῶτοι
 οἱ καλούμενοι Κεδρούσιοι, Ἀραβες δεῦτεροι [οἱ καλούμενοι], Γυμνο-
 σοφισταί. Παρεκτείνε<ι> δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ κατοικία ἀπὸ Ἡλιουπόλεως τῆς ἔσω
 ἕως Ῥινοκορούρων καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας. 150
8. Οἱ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτῶν γράμματα οὗτοί εἰσιν· Ἑβραῖοι οἱ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι,
 Πέρσαι, Μῆδοι, Χαλδαῖοι, Ἰνδοί, Ἀσσύριοι.
9. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ κατοικία τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Σήμ τοῦ πρωτοτόκου υἱοῦ Νῶε μήκος
 μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἕως Ῥινοκορούρων, πλάτος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Περσίδος καὶ
 Βάκτρων ἕως τῆς Ἰνδικῆς. 155
10. Τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα τῶν χωρῶν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Σήμ ἐστὶ ταῦτα· Περσίς σὺν
 τοῖς ἐπικειμένοις αὐτῇ ἔθνεσιν, Βακτριανή, Ὑρκανία, Βαβυλωνία,
 Κορδυλία, Ἀσσυρία, Μεσοποταμία, Ἀραβία ἡ ἀρχαία, Ἐλυμαίς, Ἰνδική,

4,2. 126 *verba* καὶ Φούδ, ὅθεν οἱ Πέρσαι *omittenda putavi quia Fud supra* (3,1)
inter filios Cham numeratur 4,5. 135 ὁ ἀδελφὸς Φάλεχ *exp.* Bauer-Helm ||
 136-137 Ἀράβ<ι>ες *em.* Bauer-Helm || 137 Ἱ<δ>ουράμ *em.* Bauer-Helm
 || 139 Οὐήρ *em.* Bauer-Helm || Ἐμμηραῖοι *scripsi*: Ἐρμαῖοι H' Armenii E'
 4,7. 145 οἱ *post* Ἑβραῖοι *ins.* Bauer-Helm || 146 Ἀσσύριοι *ins.* Bauer-Helm:
om. H' || 147 οἱ *ante* πρῶτοι *exp.* Bauer-Helm || 148 οἱ καλούμενοι *exp.*
 Bauer-Helm || 149 παρεκτείνει *em.* Bauer-Helm

Ἄραβία ἡ εὐδαίμων, <Κοίλη Συρία>, Κομμαγενή καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη ἤπερ ἐστὶ τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Σήμ.

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11. [Τοῦ δὲ Χάμ τοῦ δευτέρου υἱοῦ Νῶ ἐστὶν ἡ κατοικία ἀπὸ Ῥινοκοροῦρων τῆς ὀριζούσης Συρίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Αἰθιοπίαν ἕως Γαδεύρων. Τοῦ δὲ Ἰάφεθ τοῦ τρίτου υἱοῦ Νῶ ἀπὸ Μηδίας ἕως Γαδεύρων τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν μέρη καὶ νῆσοι ἐπίκοινοι].

12. Αἱ πᾶσαι ἐκ τῶν τριῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Νῶ ἐμοῦ φυλαὶ οἱβ'.

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5,1. Τὰ δὲ ἔθνη, ἃ διέσπειρε κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ προσώπου πάσης τῆς γῆς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Φαλέκ καὶ Ἰεκτὰν τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας γλώσσας αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πυργοποιίᾳ, ὅτε συνεχύθησαν αἱ γλώσσαι αὐτῶν, ἐστὶ ταῦτα·

2. Ἑβραῖοι οἱ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἀσσύριοι, Χαλδαῖοι, Μῆδοι, Πέρσαι, <Ἀραβες πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι>, Μαδιθηναῖοι πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι,

170

Ἀδιαβηνοί, Ταιηνοί, Σαλαμοσηνοί, Σαρακηνοί, Μάγοι, Κάσπιοι, Ἀλβανοί, Ἰνδοὶ πρῶτοι καὶ β', Αἰθίοπες πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι, Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι,

Λίβυες [πρῶτοι καὶ β'], Χετταῖοι, Χαναναῖοι, Φερεζαῖοι, Εὐαῖοι, Ἀμορραῖοι, Γεργεσαῖοι, Ἰεβουσσαῖοι, Ἰδουμαῖοι, Σαμαρρεῖοι, Φοίνικες, Σύριοι, Κίλικες

175

οἱ καὶ Θαρσεῖς, Καππάδοκες, Ἀρμένιοι, Ἰβηρες, Βιβρανοί, Σκύθαι, Κόλχοι, Σαῦνοι, Βοσπορανοί, Ἀσιανοί, Ἰσαυροί, Λυκάονες, Πισίδες, Γαλάται,

<Παφλαγόνες, Φρύγες>, Ἑλληνες οἱ καὶ Ἀχαιοί, Θεσσαλοί, Μακεδόνες, Θρᾷκες, Μυσοί, Βεσσοί, Ἀρδανοί, Σαρμάται, Γερμανοί, Παννόνιοι οἱ καὶ

Παῖονες, Νωρικοί, Δελμάται, Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ καὶ Λατῖνοι καὶ Κιτιαῖοι, Λίγυρες, Γάλ<λ>οι οἱ καὶ Κελταῖοι, Ἀκ<ο>υατινοί, Βριτανοί, Σπάνιοι <οἱ> καὶ

180

Τυρρηνοί, Μαῦροι, Μακουακοί, Γαίτυλοι, Ἄφροι, Μάζικες, Ταράμαντες οἱ ἐξώτεροι, Σποράδες, Κελτίονες, Ταράμαντες ἐσώτεροι, οἱ ἕως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἐκτείνουσι.

3. Ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, ἃ διέσπειρε κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ προσώπου πάσης τῆς γῆς κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας γλώσσας αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς φυλαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις

185

αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν.

6,1. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἡγήσάμην καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας αὐτῶν τῶν ἀναγνωσθέντων ἔθνων καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας αὐτῶν δηλῶσαί σοι καὶ τὰ κλίματα αὐτῶν, πῶς οἰκοῦσι καὶ ποῖον ἔθνος πλησίον τίνος ἐστίν, ὅπως μὴδὲ καὶ τούτων ἄπειρος ὑπάρχῃς. Ἀρξομαι δὲ διαγράφειν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ μέχρι δύσεως <κατὰ τάξιν>.

190

4,10. 159 Κοίλη Συρία *ins.* Bauer-Helm: *om.* H' 4,11. 161-164 τοῦ δὲ Χάμ—ἐπίκοινοι *om.* E' *exp.* Bauer-Helm 5,2. 170 Ἀραβες πρῶτοι καὶ δεῦτεροι *ins.* Bauer-Helm || 173 πρῶτοι καὶ β' *exp.* Bauer-Helm || 177 Παφλαγόνες Φρύγες *ins.* Bauer-Helm || 180 Γάλλοι *em.* Bauer-Helm || Ἀκυατινοί H' || οἱ *ins.* Bauer-Helm 6,1. 187 ἀναγνωσθέντων H' Helm: ἀγνώστων Bauer *interpretatione Barbari inepte confisus* ignotas gentes || 191 κατὰ τάξιν *add.* Bauer-Helm

2. Τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων ἄποικοι γεγόνασι Πάρθοι καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη
τῆς Εἰρήνης ἕως τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας.
3. Ἀράβων δὲ ἄποικοι γεγόνασιν Ἀραβες οἱ εὐδαίμονες· τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ
ὀνόματι προσαγορεύεται εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία. 195
4. Χαλδαίων δὲ ἄποικοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Μεσοποταμίται.
5. Μαθηναίων δὲ ἄποικοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Κιναιδοκολπίται <καὶ Τρωγλο-
δύται> καὶ Ἰχθυοφάγοι.
6. Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἔθνη καὶ προσηγορίαι εἰσὶ πέντε· Ἴωνες, Ἀρκάδες, Βοιωτοί,
Αἰολεῖς, Λάκωνες. Τούτων δὲ ἄποικοι γεγόνασι· Ποντικοὶ καὶ Βιθυννοί, 200
Τρῶες, Ἀσιανοί, Κἄρες, Λύκιοι, Πάμφυλοι, Κυρηναῖοι καὶ νῆσοι δὲ πλείστα
αἱ καλούμεναι Κυκλάδες ἰα', αἱ τὸ Μυρταῖον πέλαγος περιέχουσι.
7. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὗται· Ἄνδρος, Τήνος, Τήω, Νάξος, Κέως, Κούρος, Δήλος,
Σίφνος, Νήρεα, Κύρνος, Μαραθῶν [ὁμοῦ ἰα'].
8. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἕτεροι νῆσοι μείζονες ἰβ', αἵτινες καὶ πόλεις ἔχουσι 205
πλείστας αἱ καλούμεναι Σποράδες, ἐν αἷς ἀπῆκίσθησαν Ἑλληνες. Εἰσὶ
δὲ αὗται· Εὐβοία, Κρήτη, Σικελία, Κύπρος, Κῶς, Σάμος, Ῥόδος, Χίος,
Θάσος, Λήμνος, Λέσβος, Σαμοθράκη [ὁμοῦ ἰβ'].
9. Ἐστὶν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν Εὐβοία ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰόνων Ἰωνί-
δες πόλεις ἰς' ὀνομασταί. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὗται· Κλαζομεναί, Μιτυλήνη, Φωκ<α>ία, 210
Πριήνη, Ἐρυθραί, Σάμος, Τέως, Κολοφών, Χίος, Ἐφεσος, Σμύρνα, Πέρινθος,
Βυζάντιον, Χαλκηδών, Πόντος, Ἀμισὸς ἐλευθέρα [πᾶσαι ἰς'].
10. Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν καὶ Κιτιέων [τῶν καὶ Λατίνων κεκλημένων] ἔθνη καὶ
ἀποικίαι εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ· <Τουῖσκοι>, Αἰμηλίσιοι, Σικηνοί, Κα<μ>πανοί,
Ἀπουλούσιοι, Καλαβροί, Λουκανοί. 215
11. Ἀφρων δὲ ἔθνη καὶ ἀποικίαι εἰσὶ πέντε· Νεβληνοί, Κνίθιοι, Νούμιδες,
Σαῖοι, Νασαμώνες. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ νῆσοι πέντε πόλεις ἔχουσαι·
Σαρδανία, Κόρσι<κ>α, Γίρβα, Κέρκινα, Γαλάτη.
12. Μαύρων δὲ ἔθνη καὶ ἀποικίαι εἰσὶ τρεῖς· Μοσσολαμοί, Τι<γγι>τανοί,
Καισαρηνησεῖς. 220
13. Σπάνων δὲ τῶν καὶ Τυρρηναίων, καλουμένων δὲ Ταρακωννησίων,
ἔθνη καὶ ἀποικίαι εἰσὶ πέντε· Λυσιτανοί, Βαιτικοί, Αὐτρίγιοι, Βάσκωνες,
Καλλαῖκοι οἱ καλούμενοι Ἀσπορες.
14. Γάλλων δὲ τῶν καὶ Να<ρ>βουδησίων καλουμένων ἔθνη καὶ ἀποικίαι 225
εἰσὶ τέσσαρες· Λουγδουνοί, Βελσικοί, Σικανοί, Ἐδνοι.
15. Γερμανῶν δὲ ἔθνη καὶ ἀποικίαι εἰσὶ πέντε· Μαρκόμανοι, Βάρδουλοι,
Κουᾶδροι, Βέρδηλοι, Ἐρμόνδουλοι.

6,5. 197–198 καὶ Τρωγλοδύται *ins.* Bauer-Helm 6,7. 204 ὁμοῦ ἰα' *exf.*
Bauer-Helm 6,8. 208 ὁμοῦ ἰβ' *exf.* Bauer-Helm 6,9. 210 Φωκαῖα
em. Bauer-Helm || 212 πᾶσαι ἰς' *exf.* Bauer-Helm 6,10. 213 τῶν καὶ
Λατίνων κεκλημένων *exf.* Bauer-Helm || 214 Τουῖσκοι *ins.* Bauer-Helm ||
Καμπανοί *em.* Bauer-Helm 6,11. 217 Νασαμόνες *H'* || 218 Κόρσικα *em.*
Bauer-Helm 6,12. 219 Τιγγιτανοί *em.* Bauer-Helm 6,14. 224
Ναρβουδησίων *em.* Bauer-Helm

16. Σαρματῶν δὲ ἔθνη καὶ ἀποικίαι εἰσὶ δύο· Ἀμαξόβιοι καὶ Γρικο-
σαρμάτα<ι>.

17. Ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ αἱ ἀποικίαι αὐτῶν.

230

7,1. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξέ μοι δηλῶσαί σοι· τὰ κλίματα τῶν ἀνα-
γνωσθέντων ἔθνων καὶ τὰ ὀνομαστὰ ὄρη καὶ τοὺς ἐπισήμους ποταμοὺς τοὺς
ἀποχέοντας εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅπως μὴδὲ τούτων ἄπειρος ὑπάρχῃς.

2. Ἀρξομαι οὖν λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἀναγνωσθέντων ἔθνων ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν
καὶ μέχρι δυσμῶν, πῶς οἰκοῦσι.

235

3. Ἀδιαβηνοὶ πέραν τῶν Ἀράβων, Ταῖνοι καταντικρὺς αὐτῶν, Ἀλαμοσινοὶ
<δὲ πέραν τῶν Ἀράβων, Σακκηνοὶ> δὲ πέραν τῶν Ταϊνῶν, Ἀλβανοὶ δὲ
πέραν τῶν Κασπίων πυλῶν, Μαδιηναῖοι δὲ οἱ μείζονες οἱ πολεμηθέντες
ὑπὸ Μαυσιῶος ἐντὸς τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης οἰκοῦσιν· ἡ γὰρ μικρὰ Μαδιὰμ
πέραν ἐστὶ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης, ὅπου ἐβασίλευσε Ῥαγούηλ καὶ Ἰώθωρ
ὁ πενθερὸς Μαυσιῶος.

240

4. Καὶ πέραν δὲ τῶν Καππαδόκων εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη οἰκοῦσιν Ἀρμένιοι
καὶ Ἰβηρες καὶ Βηρανοί, εἰς δὲ τὰ εὐώνυμα μέρη οἰκοῦσι Σκύθες καὶ
Κόλχοι καὶ Βοσπορανοί, Σαῦνοι δὲ οἱ λεγόμενοι Σάνιγγες, οἱ ἕως τοῦ Πόντου
ἐκτείνοντες, ὅπου ἐστὶ παρεμβολὴ Ἀψαρος <καὶ Σεβαστόπολις> καὶ
Ὑσσου λιμὴν καὶ Φάσις ποταμός. Καὶ ἕως Τραπεζοῦντος οἰκοῦσι καὶ
παρεκτείνεται τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα.

245

5. Ὅρη δὲ ὀνομαστὰ εἰσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ δώδεκα· Λίβανος ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ μεταξὺ
Βύβλου καὶ Βηρυτοῦ, Καύκασος ἐν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ, Ταῦρος ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ καὶ
Καππαδοκίᾳ, Ἀτλας ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ἕως τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ, Παρνασὸς ἐν
τῇ Φωκίᾳ, Κιθαιρῶν ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ, Ἑλικὼν ἐν τῇ Τελμισῷ, Παρθένιον
ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ, Ναυσαῖον τὸ καὶ Σινᾶ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, Λυκάβαντος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ
καὶ Γα<λ>λίᾳ, Πίνιον ὁ καὶ Μίμας ἐν τῇ Χίῳ, Ὀλυμπος ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ.

250

6. Δεδειγμένων οὖν τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν δώδεκα ὁρέων τῆς γῆς ἀναγκαῖον
ἐστὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐπισήμους ποταμοὺς δηλῶσαί σοι.

255

7. Ποταμοὶ οὖν εἰσιν ὀνομαστοὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐν τῇ γῇ οὗτοι· Ἰνδὸς ὁ
καλούμενος Φισῶν, Νεῖλος ὁ καλούμενος Γηὼν, Τίγρις, Εὐφράτης, Ἰορδάνης,
Κηφισσός, Τάναϊς, Ἰσμηνός, Ἐρύμανθος, Ἄλυσ, Αἰσωπός, Θερμῶδων,
Ἑρασίνος, Ῥεῖος, Βορυσθένης, Ἀλφειός, Ταῦρος, Εὐρώτας, Μέανδρος,
Ἀξιος, Πύραμος, Ὀρέντης, Ἐβρων, Σαγγάριος, Ἀχελῷος, Πινειός, Εὐήνος,
Σπερχιός, Κάϋστρος, Σιμδεῖς, Σκάμανδρος, Στρυμών, Παρθένιος, Ἰστρος,
Ῥήνος, Βαίτης, Ῥόδανος, Ἡριδανός, Βαῖος, Θούβηρος ὁ νῦν καλούμενος
Τιβέρης· ὁμοῦ ποταμοὶ μ'.

260

6,16. 228–229 Γρικοσαρμάται *em.* Bauer-Helm 7,1. 231–232 ἀναγ-
νωσθέντων Η' *iterum scripsi sicut supra* (6,1): ἀγνώστων Bauer 7,2. 234 ἀναγ-
νωσθέντων Η': ἀγνώστων Bauer 7,3. 237 δὲ πέραν—Σακκηνοὶ *ins.*
Bauer-Helm 7,4. 245 καὶ Σεβαστόπολις *ins.* Bauer-Helm 7,5. 253
Γαλλία *em.* Bauer-Helm

III

1,1. Significantes autem his omnibus tempus aduenit ad textum chronicae currere annos.

2. Sicut prius demonstrauius dicentes, ab Adam usque ad diluuium Noe generationes quidem X, anni duo milia ducenti quadraginta duo, et a diluio Noe usque ad turris edificationem et confusione <m> diuisarum linguarum generationes quidem sex, anni autem quingenti quinquaginta octo. Fiunt simul anni duo milia octingenti.

2,1. Et a diuisione terrarum usque dum genuit Abraham Isaac generationes quidem sex, anni autem sexcenti tredecim sic. Post diuisionem terrarum factus est Falec annorum C: fiunt simul anni duo milia noningenti, et genuit Ragau. Sub isto diuisio facta est. Falec enim in <ter>praetatur diuisio.

2. Vixit autem Ragau annos centum treginta II: fiunt simul anni trea milia treginta II, et genuit Seruch.

3. Vixit autem Seruch annos centum treginta duos: fiunt simul anni trea milia CLXIII, et genuit Nachor.

4. Vixit autem Nachor annos septuaginta nouem: fiunt simul anni trea milia CCXLIII, et genuit Tharam.

5. Vixit autem Thara annos LXX: fiunt simul anni trea milia CCCXIII, et genuit Abraham.

6. Factus est autem Abraham annorum LXXV: fiunt simul anni trea milia CCCLXXXVIII, quando praecepit illi deus exire de domo patris sui et uenire in terram Chanaan.

7. Habitauit autem Abraham in terra Chanaan alios annos XXV: fiunt anni centum, et sic genuit Isaac. Fiunt simul ab Adam usque quod genuit Abraham Isaac omnes anni trea milia quadringenti XIII.

8. Temporibus uere Abrahae quando genuit Isaac Syrorum primus regnauit Bilus annos LXII, Sicyoniorum autem regnauit Egialeus, in Egyptios regnauit Necherocheus Farao.

9. Fiunt simul ab Adam usque dum genuit Abraham Isaac generationes XXI, anni trea milia quadringenti XIII, et ab Abraham usque ad exitum filiorum Israhel per Moysen generationes quidem VI, anni autem quadringenti quadraginta tres.

3,1. Abraham autem erat annorum centum, quando genuit Isaac: fiunt simul ab Adam anni trea milia quadringenti XIII.

1,2. 5 confusione E' **2,1.** 9 tredecim *scripsi*: tres E' || 12 inpraetatur E' **2,8.** 29 Necherocheus; cf. *infra* Chron. VII, 3,5: Arouth E' Frick
2,9. 33 quadraginta *secl.* Frick *ex antecedente* quadringenti *ortum credens*

2. Vixit autem Isaac annos sexaginta: fiunt anni trea milia quadringenti septuaginta tres, et genuit Iacob.
3. Vixit autem Iacob annos octuaginta tres: fiunt simul anni trea milia quingenti quinquaginta sex, et genuit Leui et fratres eius.
4. Vixit autem Leui annos XLV: fiunt simul anni trea milia DCI, et sic genuit Caath. 40
5. Vixit autem Caath annos LX: fiunt simul anni trea milia DCLXI, et genuit Ambram.
6. Vixit autem Ambram annos LXXV, fiunt simul anni trea milia septingenti XXXVI, et genuit Moysen et Aaron et Mariam sororem eorum. 45
7. Factus est autem Moyses annorum LXXX: fiunt simul anni trea milia octingenti XVI, quando intrauit ad Faraonem regem Egypti. Et fecit dominus deus signa et prodigia per manum Moysi, mittens decem plagas in Egypto. Et eduxit filios Israhel de Egypto in manu forte, et transierunt mare Rubrum pedibus sicut per aridam. 50
8. Fecerunt autem et in herimo Sinai filii Israhel comedentes manna annos XL: fiunt simul anni trea milia octingenti LVI. Fiunt ab Adam usque ad mortem Moysi anni trea milia octingenti LVI.
9. In diebus autem Moysi Froneus Argion regnauit post Inachum, Leucypus autem Siceis regnauit, Eretheus Athineis regnauit, Belochus autem Assyriis regnauit, Petissonius autem Farao in Egypto. Occiduum enim sine regno erat. 55

- 4,1. Fiunt simul ab Adam usque ad mortem Moysi generationes quidem XXVI, anni autem trea milia octingenti LVI, et a morte Moysi usque ad mortem Hiesu Naue et Finees sacerdotis anni LIII sic. 60
2. Post mortem autem Moysi et Aaron suscitauit dominus deus spiritum suum super Hiesu filium Naue, et transmeauit populum filiorum Israhel Iordanis fluuium, et ceciderunt muri Hiericho. Et exterminauit a facie filiorum Israhel Chananeum et Chetteum et Eu[g]eum et Ferezeum et Amorream et Gergeseum et Hiebuseum, et fecit in terram quam inuasit annos XXXI sic: pugnando fecit annos sex et possidens alios uiginti quinque annos terram illam, fiunt simul anni treginta unum. Fiunt simul ab Adam anni trea milia octingenti octuaginta septem. 65
3. Et post obitum Hiesu filii Naue praeuit populo Finees sacerdos annos XXIII, fiunt anni LIII. Fiunt simul ab Adam usque ad obitum Hiesu filii Naue et Finees sacerdotis omnes anni trea milia noningenti decem. 70

3,5. 42 LX *em.* Frick: XL E' 3,9. 54 Froneus E' || post Inachum *scripsi:* cum Inachum E' || 55 Belochus *rest.* Scaliger: Hilochus E' || 56 Petissonius *emendavi;* cf. *supra* I, 50: Petessonsius E' 4,2. 64 Eueum *correx*

4. Et ab obito Hiesu et Finees usque ad initium Heli sacerdotis, finis autem iudicum filiorum Israhel, anni sunt quadragenti XLV sic. 75
5. Post obitum Hiesu et Finees peccauit populus filiorum Israhel ad deum, et tradidit illos deus Chusateri regi Mesopotamiae et seruierunt illi annos nouem. Fiunt simul anni trea milia noningenti XVIII. Et clamauerunt ad dominum, et suscitauit illis dominus deus principem Gothonial, fratrem Chaleb iuuenem, de tribu Iuda. Iste pugnavit cum Chusather in bello et interfecit eum. Et iudicauit Gothonial populum annos XXXIII. Fiunt simul anni trea milia noningenti LIII. 80
6. Et iterum peccauit populus ad deum et traditi sunt a domino Eglom regi Moab, et seruierunt illi filii Israhel annos XVIII. Fiunt simul anni trea milia noningenti LXXI. Conuertentes autem iterum ad deum suscitauit illis principem Naoth, uirum de tribu Efraim, et interfecit Eglom. Et praefuit populo annos LV. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia XXVI. 85
7. Post Naoth autem iudicauit populum filiorum Israhel Semegas filius eius, et ipse iudicauit Israhel annos uiginti V. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia LI. 90
8. In diebus Naoth et Semega filium eius iudicum in ipsis scribuntur fuisse Promitheus et Epimitheus et Atlas et prouidens Albus, item Deucalios, et post eos diluuius sub Graecorum. Memoratur Promitheus plasmare homines sicut phittonissae, non autem sic, sed quia sapiens fuit ualde inperitos homines quasi paruulos plasmabat. Atlas autem, Promitheus frater, amabilis astrologus fulgebat: per disciplinam eius et caelum illi fertur deponi. Euripidus autem poeta super nubes dixit Atlatum esse. Epimitheus autem dicitur inuentor lyrae et omne organa musica. 95 100
9. Et post obitum Naoth et Semega iudicum iterum peccauit populus coram domino deo, et tradidit illos dominus deus Iabi regi Assyriorum, et seruierunt ei annos XX. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia LXXI. 105
10. Sub isto prophetauit Deborra, uxor Lafiu, et per ipsam tenuit principatum filiorum Israhel Barach, ille de Aminoem, de tribu Neptalim. Iste pugnavit contra Sisara principe Iabis et superauit eum.

4,8. 99–100 Euripides, TrGF 1116 Nauck-Snell

4,4. 74 usque ad initium: *perperam vertit Barbarus μέχρι αρχής* || 75 XLV *corr.* Gelzer: XXX E' || 95 post eos: *perperam vertit Barbarus κατ' αὐτούς* || Graecorum *scripsi*: Gregorum E' Frick || 96 phittonissae *em.* Frick: phittonissae E' || 98 amabilis: *legisse Barbarum ἀρεστός pro ἄριστος recte vidit Scaliger*

- Et regnauit super filios Israhel iudicans eos Deborra cum Barach annos XL. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CXI. 110
11. In diebus autem Deborra et Barach omnes de Dena scribuntur esse, Athineorum autem tunc regnauit Cecrops qui uocabatur Dipsyis annos L: Dipsyis autem uocabatur, quia statura procerus erat.
12. Post mortem autem Deborra et Barach iterum peccauit populus coram deo, et tradidit illos dominus deus Oreb <et Zeb> Madianitis, et seruierunt eis annos VII. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CXVIII. 115
13. Post haec suscitauit deus Gedeon habentem tricentos uiros, et interfecit Oreb et Zeb et duodecim milia Allofylorum. Et iudicauit Gedeon Israhel annos XL. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CLVIII.
14. In diebus autem Gedeoni principis Zethus et Afius filii Zini scribuntur, et illa Ganymidis et Persea et Dionysu. Amfius autem Cadmu nepus Thibeis regnauit et condidit mura Thibeae. 120
15. Et post Gedeon praefuit filios Israhel filius Abimelech, et ipse iudicauit Israhel annos III. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CLXI.
16. Et post istum iterum rexit filios Israhel Thola filius Fila filio Charram quem de tribu Efraim, et ipse iudicauit Israhel annos XXIII. 125
Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CLXXXIII.
17. In diebus autem his illas de Lycurgum et Acteum et Pelopum scribuntur.
18. Et post mortem Tholae filio Fila surrexit Iaher ille Galadita de tribu Manasse. Et ipse iudicauit Israhel annos XXII. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CCVI. 130
19. Et post mortem Iaher principis iterum peccauerunt filii Israhel coram deo, et traditi sunt Amanitis, et seruierunt illis annos XVIII. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CCXXIII. Et clamauerunt iterum 135
ad deum et suscitauit eis principem Iefthe illum Galaditam de tribu Manasse, et liberauit eos, et praefuit populo annos sex. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CCXXX.
20. Et post iudicauit Eglom ille Zabulonita annos X. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CCXL. 140
21. Et post istum iudicauit Esbal ille Bethlemita de tribu Iuda, et ipse iudicauit Israhel annos VII. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CCXLVII.
22. Et post istum praefuit populo Abdon filius Ella ille Farathonita de tribu Efraim, et ipse iudicauit Israhel annos VIII. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CCLV. 145
23. Et post istum iterum peccauit populus coram domino, et tradidit illos deus Fylisteis et alienigenis, et seruierunt illis annos XL. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia ducenti XCV.

4,12. 115 Orib E' || et Zeb *inserui* 4,18. 132 CCVI *corr.* Gelzer: CCII E' 4,23. 147 illis: *in cod. ex illos corr. manus satis antiqua sec.* Schoene

24. In diebus autem illis Ilios aedificata est, et mura Dardani scribuntur esse aedificata, in quo regnavit Dardanus et post istum 150
Laomedus et Sarpidus et Priamus scolasticus rex.
25. Postquam autem reuersi sunt filii Israhel ad dominum suscitauit illis deus Sampson filium Manoe de tribu Dan. Iste expugnauit Allofylos et iudicauit Israhel annos XX. Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CCCXV. 155
26. In diebus autem Sampson iudicis illa qui Dedela et Atrea et Thyesten scribuntur, item autem Orfeus et Museus cognoscebantur et qui ad Eraclem pertinent et Argonautas, de quo Apollonius historiografus scripsit.
27. Et post obitum Sampson sine principem et pacem per annos XL. 160
Fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CCCLV.
28. Et post haec Heli sacerdos iudicauit Israhel: quo tempore [ille] Ilios capta est ab Acheis et Dardana mura confracta sunt.
29. Huc usque iudices Israhel constauerunt. Iudices enim Israhel secundum proprias eorum generationes finierunt, de illos autem qui 165
sine genealogia manifestatio haec est.

IV

- 1,1. Temporibus uero iudicum recensuimus dicendo: In ipsis fuerunt qui ec Diu depinguntur. Unde Picus ille Cronu pronepus partibus occasu ipsis temporibus imperauit.
2. Cronus quidem propater eius in diuisione terrae fuit occidentales partes tenens, sicut sine urbes et sine reges essent: de quo multus 5
est sermo et sine interpretaetione sunt.

- 2,1. Post Cronis autem perditionem secundum successiones annorum Picus pronepus eius per tempora regnauit in Italia primus, quem et Serapin quidam interpretaetauerunt, alii autem Dia Olympium, ceteri autem Plutea Aidonium, et alii Chthonium Posidona. Istorum 10

4,26. 158–159 Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica

4,24. 149 Ilios aedificata *scripsi*: solis aedificatus E' || 150 Dardanus *cor-*
rex: Darius E' || 151 Priamus *scripsi*: Siamus E' 4,26. 156 et Atrea *em-*
Scaliger: erat rea E' || 158 Argonautas *emendavi*: opus illorum *Barbarus ver-*
tit legens ἔργον αὐτῶν *pro* Ἀργοναυτῶν || Apollonius: *scil.* Rhodius 4,28.
162 ille *expunxi* || 163 Ilios capta *scripsi*: solis confixus E'; *Barbarum permis-*
cuisse ἤλω *et* ἡλώθη Scaliger *recte notauit*

- 2,1. 7 successiones *corr.* Frick: successiores E' || 9 Serapin *scripsi*: Serafin E'

autem nominum ei pertinuit pro eo quod ille multa potuisset super omnes.

2. Iste autem in Assyrios in iuuentute regnans Ninus ibi uocabatur et condidit Niniuem ciuitatem Assyriorum. Uxor autem eius Semiramis mulier fuit maligna et praesumens et inpudica, quem Ream uocauerunt, alii autem Iram Zygiar, et alii Nemesim multiformem, ceteri autem Ecatin Chtonicam propter innumeram eius atrocitatem. 15

3. Iste quidem relinquens uxori imperium occidentis partibus ueniens imperauit. Erant enim omnes partes illas sine urbes et sine regem secundum quod narrat historia. 20

4. In illis uero temporibus Picus Croni pronepus inueniens terram illam spaciosam [manentem] imperauit in illam annos LXXX patrias possidens.

5. Et illas nobilissimas feminas per magicas et ingenia maligna conuertens et auortiuos faciebat, et sic mulieres, quae ab ipso deludebantur, domos et sedes praeparabant ei et sculptilia multa multa illi configebant sicut placebat eis, et quasi deo eas conmiscuisset et in deum eum esse gloriabantur. 25

3,1. Post istius autem perditionem Faunus filius eius regnauit in Italiam annos XXXV. Hic factus est uir impius et strenuus ualde.

2. Tunc descendit in Egyptum et ibidem demoratus est inperialem uestem indutus. Et sapiens uidebatur ab Egyptios, per magicas et maleficia eos decipiebat, et suspitiones et diuinationes illos dicebat, auium narrationes et opupas adnuntiationes et equorum hinnitus dicebat et mortuorum diuinationes et alia plura mala. 30

3. Et dum computatorem illum cernerent et ualde loquacem sapientes Aegyptiorum, Hermem terbeatissimum illum glorificabant pro eo quod linguas eorum bene nouisset ubique, simul autem et polyolum et multoditatum et deorum illum ministrum suspicabant. 35

4. Regnauit autem ibi annos XXXV. Fiunt autem ab Adam usque ad initium regni Picu qui interpretaetur Serapidus pronepus Croni anni quattuor milia C. 40

4,1. Tunc Eraclius ab Spanorum partibus rediens arma sua posuit in Roma, in Boarium forum, in templo clausit. Dicunt enim Eraclium in Latothibis fuisse ec Dius et Alminius.

2. Et fugiens Erysthea, regem Thibeorum, cum omnia sua nauigauit 45

2,2. 14 Semiramis *emendavi*: Semimaris E' 2,4. 22 manentem *expunxi*: μένουσαν *pro* μὲν οὖσαν *legisse* Barbarum *coni.* Scaliger 2,5. 24 auortiuos faciebat: stupro uiolabat *vel aliquid simile* Barbarus *pro* διέφθειρε *debit* 3,1. 29 strenuus valde: *potius* malignus *pro* πανούργος 3,2. 32 dicebat *corr.* Frick: decipiebat E' || 33 hinnitus *scripsi*: hinnos E' 3,3. 36 Hermem terbeatissimum: *cf.* Diod. VI,5,1-3 *et* Iul. Afric., Chron., fr. 12, p. 264 Routh 4,1. 44 ec Dius *em.* Frick: ecclius E'

et regnauit occidentis partibus: unde immaginae auro uestitos sibi conposuit in nouissimis occidentales partibus, qui et usque hodie stant: pro quo et Eurypidus ille poeta memorauit.

3. Fecit autem et filium ex Auge neocorum Aleu filia Telefum quem et Latinum [eum] uocauit. Regnauit autem Eraclius annos XXXVIII. 50

4. Post mortem autem Eraclii Telefus filius eius qui et Latinus uocatus est regnauit in ipsa prouintia annos XVIII, et de eius nomine Romeos qui et Cittei uocantur Latinos nominauit, qui et usque hodiernum diem Latini uocantur.

5,1. Temporibus illis Frygius Eneas, Anchisso et Afroditis filius, uenit de Lybia et cum Latino se coniunxit et fecit pugna cum illos Rutullos. Et in ipsa pugna Latinus occisus est, et imperium eius sumpsit Eneas et condidit Libyniam ciuitatem in nomine Dido illa Libyssa. Regnauit autem Eneas post Illi desolationem, anno XVIII ab Illi uastatione, et uixit in regno annos XXXVIII. 55 60

2. Post autem Eneae mortem Ascanius filius eius regnauit ibi annos XXXV et condidit Albaniam et regnum Albanis inposuit.

3. Post autem Ascanii mortem regnauit Albas Postumius ille Eneae nepus annos XXXVI, et condidit Siluem. Ab isto qui postea reges Siluani uocati sunt. 65

4. Reges autem qui regnauerunt ab Alba in occiduum sunt isti.

Albas Siluius	Eneae nepus	annos XXXVI	
Tittus Siluius	regnauit	annos XXXVIII	
Francus Siluius	regnauit	annos LIII	
Latinus Siluius	regnauit	annos LVI	70
Procnax Siluius	regnauit	annos XLVI	
Tarcyinius Siluius	regnauit	annos XVIII	
Cidenus Siluius	regnauit	annos XXXII	
Abintinus Siluius	regnauit	annos XXI	
Rimus Siluius	regnauit	annos XXVIII.	75

6,1. Post istos regnauit Romulus in Roma, et condidit Romam et leges Romanis inposuit et causas edocuit. Fiunt uero simul ab Adam usque ad initium regni Romuli qui et Romam condidit omnes anni III milia octingenti XX. I. Primus quidem regnauit in Roma Romulus,

4,2. 48 Euripidis fr. novum

4,3. 49 ex Auge *scripsi*: ex ipsa *vertit* Barbarus qui ἐξ αὐτῆς *pro* ἐξ Αὐγῆς *legit* || 49-50 Telefum quem et Latinum uocauit *emendavi*: Telefonum et Latinum eum uocauit E' 5,1. 59 Illi *correx*i: solis E' || anno *emendavi*: annos E' || Illi *iterum correxi*: solis E' 5,4. 73 XXXII *em*. Frick: XXXV E'

- a quo Romani dicti sunt, qui et Romam condidit. Et regnavit olympius 80
 annos VIII et dimidium: fiunt anni XXXVIII. Fiunt simul anni III
 milia octingenti LVIII.
2. II. Post istum regnavit Nummas Pompus ann. XLI: fiunt anni
 III milia octingenti XCVIII. Iste primum nummum adinuenit, pro
 quo usque hodie nummus dicitur ille dinarius. 85
3. III. Post istum regnavit in Roma Tullius Seruilius annos XXXII:
 fiunt simul anni III milia noningenti XXXI.
4. IIII. Post istum regnavit in Roma Lucius Tarcynius annos XXIII:
 fiunt simul anni III milia noningenti LIII.
5. V. Post istum regnavit in Roma Titus Superbus annos XXXVIII: 90
 fiunt anni III milia noningenti XCII.
6. VI. Post hunc regnavit in Roma Tulus Seru[g]ius annos XLIII:
 fiunt anni V milia XXXVI.
7. VII. Post hunc regnavit in Roma Cyntus Tarcyniu annos XXXV:
 fiunt anni V milia LXXI. 95
8. Simul reges Romanorum a Romulo VII permanserunt annos
 CCLI, et ab initio Latini qui fuit filius Eracli anni DCLXXI. Isti
 reges, qui regnauerunt in Romam et in omnem occidentalis parte
 terram.
9. Post haec tradidit dominus deus regnum terrae Romanorum in 100
 manus Assyriorum, Chaldeorum, et Persarum, et Midorum. Et tribu-
 taria facta est terra illa Assyriis, et mansit Roma sine regnum, usque
 dum suscitauit deus Alexandrum Macedonem et conditorem.
10. Iste quidem pugnavit contra regem Persarum et superavit eum.
 Et tradidit dominus in manum eius regnum Assyriorum, et introiuit 105
 in potestate regnum eorum, et concussit ciuitates Persarum et
 Medorum, et liberauit omnem terram Romanorum et Grecorum et
 Egyptiorum de seruitute Chaldeorum, et leges posuit mundo.
11. Fiunt simul ab Adam usque ad initium Romuli qui et Romam
 condidit anni III milia octingenti XX, et ab initio Romuli usque 110
 Cyinto Tarcinio anni CCLI.

V

1,1. Ecce nunc manifestauimus quidem aedificationes Romanorum
 et quomodo quot annos regnauerunt. Necesse enim est ad historiam

6,6. 92 Tulus Seruius *emendavi*: Iulius Serugius E' 6,8. 97 CCLI *em.*
 Frick: CCLV E' || DCLXXI *em.* Frick: DCLXXX E' 6,11. 111 CCLI
em. Frick: CCL E'

1,1. 2 quot *scripsi*: quod E'

currere chronografum annos per Ebreorum regna, quibus et clarior manifestat tempora singillatim et annos secundum ordinem.

2. Sicut prius manifestauimus, ab Adam usque ad finem iudicum Israhel ab initio Heli sacerdotis fiunt anni IIII milia CCCLV. Ecce nunc regnum primum. 5

2,1. Post iudices Israhel iudicauit filios Israhel Heli sacerdos, et ipse iudicauit Israhel annos XX: fiunt simul ab Adam anni IIII milia CCCLXXV, et tradidit dominus deus arcam in manus alienigenorum. 10

2. In diebus autem Heli sacerdotis Ilii exterminatio facta est ab Acheis, in quibus memorantur Agamomnus et Menelaus et Achilles et quanti alii Danei, de quo historiam posuit Omirus litterator et scriba. 15

3. Post mortem autem Heli sacerdotis iudicauit Samuhel propheta filios Israhel. Et reduxit ab alienigenis arcam domini et introduxit eam in domo Aminadab. Et mansit ibi annos XX. Fiunt simul anni IIII milia CCCXCV.

4. Post haec unxit Samuhel Sahulem filium Cis regem super Israhel. Iste primus regnavit in Iud<e>a annos XX. Fiunt simul anni ab Adam IIII milia CCCCXV. 20

5. Post mortem autem Sahul regis regnavit Dauid filius Iesse de tribu Iuda annos XL et menses sex, sic: in Chebron annos septem et dimidium, et in Hierusalem annos XXXIII: fiunt anni XL et dimidium. Simul anni IIII milia quadringenti LV et menses sex. 25

6. Iste reduxit arcam domini a domo Aminadab, et dum duceret eam declinauit uitululus et <***> obpressit Ozam, et mortuus est. Et timuit Dauid et introduxit eam in domo Abdede Chettei, et fecit ibi menses III. 30

7. Prophetauerunt autem sub Dauid Caath et Nathan. Fuit autem archistratigus Dauid Ioab filius Saruae sorori Dauid. Iste dinumerauit tribus Israhel et inuenit milia DCCC: Leui autem et Benjamin non dinumerauit. Numerum autem de his qui ceciderunt in Israhel milia LXX, pro eo quod dinumerati sunt et probare uoluerunt dominum. 35

8. Post Dauid autem regem regnavit Solomon filius eius annos XL: fiunt simul anni IIII milia quadringenti XCV et dimidium.

9. Iste aedificauit in Hierusolymis templum duodecimo anno regni

3 quibus *scripsi*: quis E' 2,2. 12 Ilii *scripsi*: solis E' 2,4. 21 Iudea *emendavi*: Iuda E' 2,6. 28 *ante* obpressit *lac. recte stat.* Frick || 30 menses V E' 2,7. 32 Ioab *scripsi*: Moab E' || 33 DCCC *requiritur*; cf. II Regn. 24,9: CLXX E' 2,8. 38 XCV et dimidium *emendavi*: XLV E'

sui. Et prophetauerunt sub Salomon Nathan et Achias ille Silonita et Sameus et Abdeus. Princeps autem sacerdotum fuit super eos Sadoc. 40

- 3,1. Post Salomon autem regnavit Roboam filius eius annos <X>VII [et dimidium]: fiunt simul anni IIII milia quingenti XII <et dimidium>. 45
2. Sub isto diuisum est regnum. Et regnavit Hieroboam seruus Salomonis de tribu Efraim in Samaria. Iste fecit scandalum in Israhel, duas dammulas aureas. Prophetavit autem et <sub> Hieroboam et Achias ille Silonita et Sammeus filius Ellamei. 50
3. Post istum regnavit Abiu filius eius annos III: fiunt simul anni IIII milia quingenti XV et dimidium. Prophetauerunt autem ipsi prophetas. 50
4. Post hunc regnavit Asa filius Abiu annos XLI: fiunt simul anni IIII milia quingenti LVI et dimidium. Iste in senectute sua podalgicus factus est. Prophetavit autem sub ipso Annanias. 55
5. Post hunc regnavit Iosafat filius eius annos XXV: fiunt simul anni IIII milia quingenti LXXXI et dimidium. Sub isto prophetavit Helias ille Thesbita et Micheas filius Embla et Abdeus filius Ananei. Sub Michea autem fuit pseudopropheta Sedecias ille de Chanaan. 55
6. Post istum regnavit filius eius Ioram annos VIII: fiunt simul anni IIII milia quingenti LXXXVIII et dimidium. Et sub ipso prophetavit Helias, post hunc Heliseus. 60
7. Sub istum autem et filium eius Ochoziam populus in Samaria stercora columborum comederunt, quando oravit Helias ut non plueret super terram, et non pluit caelum per annos tres et menses sex. 60
8. Post istum regnavit filius eius Ochozias annum unum et dimidium: fiunt simul anni IIII milia quingenti XCI. Et sub isto prophetavit Heliseus et Abdoneus. 65
9. Post hunc regnavit Godolia, mater Ochoziae, uxor Ioram, annos VII: fiunt simul anni IIII milia quingenti XCVIII. Haec surgens interfecit filios filii sui, quia erat de genere Achab regis Samariae uxor Ochozie filii eius. Soror autem Ochoziae filii Iosabe dum esset uxor Iodae principis sacerdotum rapuit Ioham filium Ochoziae, et hunc inposuit Iodae in regnum. Prophetavit enim et sub Godolia Elisseus et Abdias et Hiiu. 70
10. Post haec autem regnavit Iohas filius Ochoziae annos XL: fiunt simul anni IIII milia sexcenti XXXVIII. Iste occidit Zachariam filium Iodae sacerdotis inter templum et altare. 75

3,1. 43 XVII *correx*: septem et dimidium E' || 44 XII *em*. Frick: XVIII E' || et dimidium *recte transp*. Frick 3,2. 47 sub *inserui*: om. E' 3,9. 67 regnavit *em*. Frick: prophetavit E' || 69 filii sui *correx*: filiorum suorum E'

11. Post Iohas autem regnavit filius eius Amasias annos XXVIII: fiunt simul anni IIII milia sexcenti LXVI.

12. Post Amasiam autem regnavit filius eius Ozias annos LII: fiunt simul anni IIII milia septingenti XVIII. Hic fuit leprosus usque dum mortuus est. Iudicabat pro eo Ioatham filius eius, quem non sinebat sedere in solum regni. Prophetizauerunt autem sub Ozia Amos et Esaias filius eius et Osee Beerī et Ionas Amatheī de Gomor.

13. Post Oziam autem regnavit Ioatham filius eius annos XVI: fiunt simul anni IIII milia septingenti XXXIII. Et sub isto similiter prophetauerunt Esaias et Osee et Micheas ille Morathita et Iohel Bathueli.

14. Et post istum regnavit Achas filius eius annos XVI: fiunt simul anni IIII milia septingenti L. Et sub isto similiter prophetauerunt Esaias et Micheas, fuit autem princeps sacerdotum super eos Hurias.

15. Sub istius regno anno undecimo illa prima olympiada uenit ad Grecis. Fiunt uero simul ab Adam usque initium olympiadae omnes anni IIII milia septingenti XLV. Est autem olympiada anni III.

16. Sub istius regno anno VI surrexit Salbanasar rex Assyriorum et uenit in Iudeam et transmigravit qui in Samaria erant in Midia et in Babylonia. Duo solummodo tribus remanserunt in Hierusalem qui fuerunt ex genere Dauid regnaturi.

4,1. Post Achas autem regnavit Ezechias filius eius annos XXV: fiunt simul anni IIII milia septingenti LXXV. Et sub istum iterum prophetauerunt Esaias et Osee et Micheas.

2. Sub istius regno Romulus qui Romam condidit regnavit olympiadas VIII et dimidiam. Fiunt anni XXXVIII.

3. Post istum Ezechiam regnavit Manasses filius eius annos LV: fiunt anni IIII milia octingenti XXX [sic]. Iste interfecit Esaiam prophetam: serrans eum diuisit in duas partes, eo quod arguebat eum propter sacrificia idolorum.

4. Post regnum autem Manasse regnavit filius eius Amos annos II: fiunt simul anni IIII milia octingenti XXXII.

5. Post Amos autem regnavit Iosias filius eius annos XXXI: fiunt simul anni IIII milia octingenti LXIII. Iste est Iosias, qui super-

3,12. 83 Beerī *emendavi*: Ebrei E' 3,15. 91 uenit: *perperam vertit ἡλθε pro ἦλθεν* 3,16. 94 anno VI *fortasse rectius quam* anno XVI *cod.* E' *si ad Ezechiam referas*: cf. IV Regn. 18,10 4,1. 98 annos XXV *em.* Frick: XXVIII E' 4,3. 104 octingenti XXX *em.* Frick: octingenti XXXI E' || *sic exp.* Frick 4,4. 108 XXXII *em.* Frick: XXXIII E' 4,5. 110 octingenti *em.* Frick: octingenti E' || 110–111 superposuit membra hominum membris idolorum *scripsi iuxta* IV Regn. 23,16–20: subposuit membra hominum sub membra idolorum E'

posuit membra hominum membris idolorum sicut scriptum est (d). Sub isto et pascha inuenta est in Israhel anno XVIII regni Iosiae. A quo enim obiit Hiesu Naue, non seruata est pascha sic nisi tunc. 6. Chelcheus sacerdos inuenit in templo illum librum legis absconditum octauo decimo anno Iosiae.

115

7. Prophetauerunt autem et sub Iosia Oldad mulier Selim, qui fuit uesterarius sacerdotum, et Sofonias et Hieremias [et Oldad] et Baruch. Fuit autem pseudopropheta Annanias Lurdus.

8. Post Iosiam autem regnauit Ioacham filius eius annos IIII et menses III: fiunt anni IIII milia octingenti LXVII. Istum ligauit [Sen] Nachaoch rex Aegyptiorum ferreis uinculis et duxit in Aegyptum, fratrem autem eius Eliachim ordinauit pro eo. Et sub istum iterum prophetauerunt Hieremias et Buzzi et Baruch et Hurias filius Samiae de Cariathiarim.

120

9. [Sub isto] Regnauit Eleachim pro Ioacham fratrem suum annos XI: fiunt simul anni IIII milia octingenti LXXVIII.

125

10. Sub istius regno surrexit Nabuchodonosor rex Assyriorum et translatauit qui in Samaria erant in Midia et in Babylonia, et Eleachim regem ligans aereis ligaminis duxit in Babylonia. Prophetauerunt autem Hieremias et Baruch et Hurias.

130

11. Post hunc regnauit pro Eliachim patre suo Ioachim filius eius annos III: fiunt simul anni IIII milia octingenti LXXXI.

12. Et hunc iterum adduxit Nabugodonosor rex Babylionis ad se ligatum catenis et multitudinem populi filiorum Israhel, in quibus et Danihelem et qui cum eo erant Ananiam, Misaelem et Azariam captiuos duxit in Babylonia.

135

13. Et ordinauit Nabuchodonosor in loco Ioachim Sedechiam quem et Iechoniam, fratrem Ioachim iuuenem. Regnauit autem Sedechias qui et Iechonias in Israhel annos XI: fiunt simul omnes anni IIII milia octingenti XCII.

140

14. In duodecimo autem anno duxit et istum in Babylonia Nabuchodonosor et cecauit eum et multitudinem populi filiorum Israhel duxit in Babylonia nisi pauci qui et in Aegyptum discenderunt. Tunc

d) IV Regn. 23,16–20

112 inuenta est: *fortasse veritit Barbarus* εὐρέθη *pro* ἐτηρήθη 4,7. 116 Oldad mulier Selim *scripsi iuxta* IV Regn. 22,14: Ἐλῖβασίλλῃ E' || 117 et Oldad *expunxi* 4,8. 121 Nachaoch *scripsi*: Sennachaoch E'; *legisse Barbarum* ἔδῃσεν σεννεχάω *et alterum* σεν *dittographia ortum esse bene vidit* Frick 4,9. 125 Sub isto *expunxi planitatis causa* 4,12. 135 Ananiam, Misaelem et Azariam *scripsi iuxta* Dan. 1,6: Annaniam et Hiezechielem E' .

et templum in Hierusolimis incendio deletum est permanens per annos quadringentos XXV.

145

15. Prophetabant autem in ipsa depredatione Hiezechiel et Naum et Danihel et Hieremias in Aegypto et Abacum in Hostracina. In quinto autem anno regni Nabuchodonosor in Babylonia initiauerunt prophetare Hiezechiel et Naum et Malachias iuuenis et tunc Aggeus et Zacharias.

150

16. Usque Sedechiam <quem> et Iechoniam tenuit regnum Iudeorum, et ultra rex in Israhel non est factus usque in hodiernum diem. Fiunt uero anni III milia octingenti XCII.

VI

1,1. Illi uero reges qui in Israhel et in Iudea et in Samaria finierunt, et tunc tradedit dominus deus regnum terrae in manus Assyriorum et Chaldeorum et Persarum et Midorum, et tributaria facta est eis omnis terra.

2. Vixit vero Nabuchodonosor iudicans omnem terram a Caspianas portas usque in Eracliae finibus et Aegyptum et omnem Iudeam, subiectos sibi faciens Pontum et totam Asiam et omnem terram Romanorum annos XVIII. Fiunt simul ab Adam anni III milia noningenti XI.

5

3. Post istum autem regnauit Baltasar filius eius menses VIII et dimidium: fiunt simul anni III milia noningenti XII. Prophetabant autem in his diebus Hiezechiel et Danihel et Baruch in Babylonia.

10

4. Post hunc autem regnauit in Babylonia Darius ille primus annos VIII: fiunt simul anni III milia noningenti XXI.

5. In quinto autem anno Darii regis uidit Danihel uisionem de illas ebdomadas et prophetauit dicens: 'Aedificabitur Hierusalem lata et magna' (e).

15

6. Sexto autem anno Dario filio Asueri, quo regnauit in regno Chaldeorum, Zorobabel Ebreorum primus ascendit in Hierusolima et coepit aedificare Hierusalem.

20

e) Dan. 9,25

4,14. 144 incendio deletum est *scripsi*: uenundatum est E'; *Barbarum transtulisse* ἐπρόθη *pro* ἐπρήσθη, ἐνεπρήσθη *susp.* Scaliger 4,15. 146 depredatione *corr.* Frick: deprecatione E' 4,16. 151 quem *inserui*: om. E'

1,2. 9 noningenti XI *em.* Frick: noningenti XII E'

- 2,1.** Post istum autem regnauit Cyrus Persus annos XXX: fiunt simul anni IIII milia noningenti LI.
- 2.** In secundo autem anno Cyrus regnans iussit populo filiorum Israhel ut ascenderet in Hierusolima. Tunc templum aedificatur sub quinquagesima quinta olympiada Cyro rege regnante. 25
- 3.** Simul Zorobabel Ebrei ascendentes de Babilonia in Iudea edificare coeperunt templum. Prophetauerunt autem sub Cyro rege Hiezechiel et Danihel et Aggeus et Abacum et Zacharias Baruchei.
- 4.** In ipsis autem temporibus Pythagoras et Anaxagoras famosi philosophi cognoscebantur. 30
- 5.** In ipsis autem temporibus Cyrus interfecit Cryssum regem Lydiae, et Lydiorum regnum dissipatum est sub quinquagesima octava olympiada.
- 6.** Post Cyrum autem regnauit filius eius Cambysus annos VIII: fiunt simul anni IIII milia noningenti LVIII. Et <sub> istum iterum prophetauerunt Danihel et Aggeus et Zacharias et Abacum. 35
- 7.** Post Cambysum autem regnauit Darius Nothus frater Cyri annos XXXIII: fiunt anni IIII milia noningenti XCII. Et sub istum iterum prophetauerunt Danihel et Aggeus et Zacharias et Abacum. Sub istum autem missus est Danihel in lacum leonum. 40
- 8.** Post Darium autem Nothum regnauit Xerxes Persus annos XI: fiunt simul anni V milia III. Iste est Xerxes qui expugnauit uniuersa. Et in Athinas ueniens conbusit eas et suspiriosus factus in Babylonia reuersus est.
- 9.** Post Xerxem autem regnauit Artarxerxes filius eius annos XXXIII: 45
fiunt simul anni V milia XXXVI.
- 10.** Sub istum Neemias filius Achillei de genere Daudid qui factus est et pincerna Artarxerxis regis uicesimo quarto anno regni eius petiit regi Artarxerxi, et iussus ab eo edificauit Hierusalem. Et ascendens in Iudea edificabat Hierusalem et finem dedit edificationis templi. 50
- 11.** Mura autem ciuitatis erexit et plateas in ipsa composuit secundum Danihelis prophetiam qui dicit sic: 'Et edificabitur Hierusalem et circummurabitur' (f). Sub istum et illa aduersus Mardocheum et Hesther: Aman autem suspensus est.
- 12.** Eo temporae Hesdras ascendens in Hierusalem legem docebat. 55
Princeps autem sacerdotum erat Hiesus filius Iosedec.

f) Dan. 9,25

2,4. 29 Anaxagoras *correx*i: princeps agoras E'; *legi*t Barbarus ἀναξ ἀγορᾶς
2,5. 32 octava *emendavi*: quinta E' **2,6.** 35 sub *ins.* Frick: *om.* E' **2,7.**
 37 Nothus *scripsi ex Graeco* Νόθος: Stultus E'; *legisse Barbarum* νοθής *vidit*
 Scaliger **2,8.** 41 Nothum *sicut supra* 2,7 **2,11.** 53 aduersus: *perperam*
vertit τὰ κατὰ κτλ.

13. Post haec et Africanus dinumerans ipsam prophetiam septuaginta ebdomadarum et septuagesimum numerum extendens ad Christi aduentum.

14. Post Artarxerxem autem regnavit Xerxes filius eius menses II, et occisus est. Et post hunc regnavit <S>ogdianus menses VII: fiunt simul anni V milia XXXVII. 60

15. Post istos regnavit Darius iuuenis qui uocatur Memoratus annos XVIII: fiunt anni V milia LVI.

16. Fuit autem sub istos in Hierusalem princeps sacerdotum Ioachim, philosophi autem cognoscebantur illi circa <Di>agoram. 65

17. Post Darium autem regnavit filius eius Artarxerxis secundus qui uocatur Memoratus annos XLII: fiunt simul anni V milia XCVIII. Fuit autem sub istum princeps sacerdotum in Hierusalem Heliasibus.

18. Philosophi autem cognoscebantur temporibus Artarxerxis Sofoclus, et Heraclitus, et Anaxagorus, et Hirotodotus, et Melissus, et Euripidus cantocompositor, et Protagorus, et Isocrates ritor, et Fideas statuascompositor, et Theetitus artifex, et Dimocritus Abderitus, et Ippocratis medicus, et Thucudidus ritor, et Empedoclus, et Gorgias, et Zinon, et Parmenidus, et Socratus Athineus, et Periclus, et Eupolus, et Aristofanus comicus. Hii omnes cognoscebantur: unde et Africanus sub Artarxerxe rege dinumerat filosofos. 70

19. Post Artarxerxem autem Memoratum regnavit filius eius Ochus in Babylonia annos XXI: fiunt simul anni V milia CXVIII. Fuit autem in Hierusalem princeps sacerdotum Iodae, in Macedonia autem regnavit Filippus ille Alexandri. 80

20. In his temporibus Ochus rex Persarum et Midorum proeliauit in Egyptum. <***> nouissimus Faraos regni Egypti, et cognoscens quia cessauit fortitudo Egyptiorum, caput suum radens et mutans uestimenta sua alio specie fugiit per Piluseum, et relinquens proprium regnum in Macedonia moratus ibidem astrologica arte didicebatur. 85

2,13. 57–59 Iulius Africanus, Chron. V, fr. 50, pp. 297–306 Routh 2,18.
76–77 Iulius Africanus, Chron. fr. novum

57–58 septuaginta *emendavi*: septem E' Frick 2,14. 60 menses II *correx*i:
menses V E' || 61 Ogdianus E' 2,16. 66 Diagoram *restituendum duce*
Scaligero existimavi: illi circa agoram E' 2,18. 71 Heraclitus *emendavi*:
Traclitus E' || 72 Isocrates *scripsi*: Socrator E' || 76 comicus *scripsi*: archi-
tector E'; οἰκοδόμος *pro* ὁ κωμωδός *legisse Barbarum susp.* Wachsmuth 2,19.
80 Macedonia *correx*i: Asia E' 2,20. 82 *ante* in his: de neclabo nouis-
simo rege aegypti E' mg. sup. || 83 *ante* nouissimus *lac. stat.* Frick || 84
caput *scripsi*: capud E'

21. Philosophi autem in Athenas Fideas statuasconpositor, et Theetitus magister ludum, et Euripidus poeta, et Di<mo>critus Abderitus, et Ippocratis medicus, et Dimosthenus ritor cognoscebantur, ceteri autem mortui sunt.

90

22. Post hunc autem regnavit in Babyloniam Alsus Ochi filius annos IIII: fiunt anni V milia CXXIII. Fuit autem in Hierusalem princeps sacerdotum Iodae.

23. Post hunc autem regnavit in Babyloniam Darius Midus ille Arsami annos VI: fiunt simul anni V milia CXXVIII. Istum deposuit Alexander Macedo et conditor. Fuit autem princeps sacerdotum Iaddus.

95

3,1. Tunc Alexander Macedo et conditor, postquam legem poneret in Ellada et omnem Romanorum terram Syriam quoque et Egyptum et partes Lybiae, tunc uenit in partes orientales et expugnans omnes ciuitates et oppida gentium obsedit regem Persarum Darium. Et tradidit dominus deus in manus eius Darium et omnem fortitudinem eius disperdit et omnem domum eius scrutauit.

100

2. Et dominauit Alexander Macedo et conditor omnem terram Chaldeorum et introiuit in omnem fortitudinem Darii et legem posuit in omnes ciuitates eius, et tributarii facti sunt ei sicut proprio regi.

105

3. Ut enim condidit Alexander Alexandriam contra Egyptum, ueniens in Hierusolima domino deo adorauit dicens: 'Gloria tibi, deus solus omnia tenens, qui uiuis in saecula.' Fuit autem tunc in Hierusalem princeps sacerdotum Iaddus.

110

4. Philosophi autem in Athenas sub Alexandro conditore Dimosthenus ritor, et Aristotelis, et Eschinus, et Dimas, et Plato, et Lysias, et Dimocritus alius cognoscebantur.

5. Regnavit autem Alexander Macedo et conditor post Darium Mid[or]um Arsami filium annos VIII: fiunt simul ab Adam usque ad finem Alexandri conditori<s> anni V milia CXXXVII, et tunc Ptolemei.

115

6. In diebus uero quibus regnavit Alexander Macedo et conditor, postquam superauit Darium regem Persarum, et Porum regem Indorum et omnes gentes subiugauit a Caspiacas portas quae sunt in ortu solis usque in exteriores terminos Eraclii qui iacent in exteriores occidentis partibus contra Garirum.

120

2,21. 88 Dimocritus Abderitus *legendum sicut supra* 2,18: Dicritus Abdirus E'
2,23. 94 Arsami *emendavi*: Alsami E' 3,3. 107 contra Egyptum: *perperam*
vertit τὴν κατ' Αἴγυπτον 3,5. 115 Midum *restituendum*; *legit* Barbarus Μῆδον
pro Μῆδον || Arsami *restitui sicut supra* 2,23 || 116 conditori E'

- 4,1. Veniens ad mortem Alexander testamentum scripsit, ut unusquisque principum Alexandri regnarent singuli in proprias eorum prouintias, sicut imperauit eis Alexander, sic. Macedonia quidem Arideum quem et Filippum praecepit regnare. 125
2. Ponton autem Leona dixit regnare.
3. Paflagonia autem et Cappadocia Eumenium scriba memoratum praeordinauit regnare.
4. Insulanos autem dimisit liberos, et procuratores ac dispensatores eorum esse Rodios. 130
5. Pamphilia et Lucyia Antigonum ordinauit regnare.
6. Frigiam autem [et] illam magnam <et> C[aes]ariam [De] Asandro tradidit.
7. Cilicia autem et Isauria et omnia circuita eius Filone ordinauit. 135
8. Syriam autem usque Mesopotamiam dedit [Ta]Pithone ut regnaret.
9. Syriam uero Cylem uocatam, Fynicem autem interpretaetam, Meleagrom ordinauit dominare.
10. Babylonia autem Seleucum praecepit regnare. 140
11. Egyptum autem et quae circa eum usque superiore Lybia Filippo qui uocabatur Ptolomeus donauit.
12. Quae autem de superiore Babylone usque Caspiacas portas, principes quidem in ea et satrapes, archistratigum autem eorum Perdicum ordinauit. 145
13. India autem qui extendit circa Ydaspem fluuium Taxio dedit regnare.
14. India autem qui dicitur sub Indo et usque Ydaspem fluuium extendens Pythonae dominare praecepit.
15. Super Parapannisodum autem Oxydarcum ordinauit regnare. 150
16. Arachusia autem et Cedrusia Sybartum ordinauit regnare.
17. Arabiam autem totam Stasanoro donauit.
18. Et <S>ogdianiam Filippo minori dedit dominare.
19. Illam autem qui circuit contra aquilonis partes et illam qui habet Yrcaniam Antigono donauit regnare. 155
20. Carmaniam autem totam Tlipolemo donauit.
21. Persidam autem totam Peucestae donauit.

4,3. 128 scriba memoratum: *interpretatio barbarica verbi Graeci ὑπομνηματογράφος* 4,6. 133 Frigiam autem illam magnam et Cariam Asandro legendum puto: Frigiam autem et illam magnam Caesariam Deasandro E'; Deasandro ex τῷ Ἀσάνδρῳ ortum censebat Frick 4,8. 136 Pithone: Tapithone cod. E' ex τῷ Πίθωνι ortum putabat Frick 4,13. 146 Ydaspem: Ydastem E' 4,14. 148 Ydaspem ut supra 4,13 4,18. 153 Sogdianiam: Ogdianiam E' 4,20. 156 Carmaniam scripsi: Germaniam E' || Tlipolemo: Tripolemo E' 4,21. 157 Peucestae scripsi: Perco E'

22. Spaniam autem usque Aloy fluuio et Eracleoticum terminum Antipalum ordinauit regnare.

23. Sic uero statuit et donauit Alexander suis principibus, et unusquisque eorum sic regnauerunt, sicut ipse disposuerat. 160

5,1. Vixit autem Alexander annos XXXVI. Regnauit quidem annos XVII sic: pugnavit enim annos VIII usque dum factus est annorum XXVIII, illos autem alios octo annos uixit in pace et securitate. Subiugauit autem gentes barbaras XXII et Grecorum tribus XIII. 165

2. Condidit autem Alexander ciuitates XII, qui usque nunc inhabitantur: Alexandriam qui in Pentapolim, Alexandriam qui in Aegyptum, Alexandriam qui ad Arpam, Alexandriam apud Issum, Alexandriam Scythiam in Egeis, Alexandriam qui in Poro, Alexandriam qui super Cypridum fluuium, Alexandriam qui in Troada, Alexandriam qui in Babylonia, Alexandriam qui in Mesasgyges, Alexandriam qui in Persida, Alexandriam Fortissimam, et mortuus est. 170

3. Fiunt uero ab Adam usque ad finem Alexandri conditoris simul anni V milia CXXXVII, et ab obito Alexandri usque ad Cleopatram illam Egyptiam anni ducenti XCIII sic. 175

6,1. Post autem mortem Alexandri, ut dictum est, regnauit in Egypto Philippus Ptolomeus, qui fuit consiliarius Alexandri, annos VII. Fiunt simul anni V milia CXLIII. Fuit autem princeps sacerdotum Ianneus. 180

2. In his temporibus Menander comicus uidebatur. 180

3. Post Philipppum autem regnauit Alexander Ptolemeus quem et ipse consiliarius Alexandri annos XII. Fiunt simul anni V milia CLVI. Princeps sacerdotum autem fuit in Hierusalem ipse Ianneus.

4. Isdem temporibus illi septuaginta Ebrei sapientes illam legem interpretauerunt Greco sermone. 185

5. Post hunc regnauit in Egypto Lagaui Ptolomeus annos XX. Fiunt simul anni V milia CLXXVI. Fuit autem in Hierusalem princeps sacerdotum Iaddus.

6. Temporibus istis Hiesus filius Sirach cognoscebatur, qui illam a deo spiratam sapientiam Aebreis edocuit. 190

7. Post hunc autem regnauit in Aegypto Filadelphus Ptolemeus annos XXXVIII. Fiunt simul anni V milia CCXIII. Fuit autem princeps sacerdotum Onias.

5,2. 169 apud Issum *conieci*: qui Cabiosum E' || 170 Scythiam in Egeis E': *puto τὴν ἐν Σκυθία τῇ γῇ* || 172 Mesasgyges *em.* Frick: mesas gyges E' 6,2. 180 comicus *scripsi ut supra* (2,18): aedificator E' 6,3. 181 quem: *legit Barbarus* ὁν *pro ὧν*

8. Post Filadelphum autem regnavit in Aegypto Eu[g]ergetus Ptole-
meus annos XXV. Fiunt simul anni V milia CCXXXVIII. Fuit autem 195
in Hierusalem princeps sacerdotum Simon et post hunc Onias alius.
9. Post Eu[g]ergetum autem regnavit in Aegypto filius eius Filopator
Ptolemeus annos XVII. Fiunt simul anni V milia CCLVI. Fuit autem
in Hierusalem princeps sacerdotum Eleazarus.
10. Post Filopatorem autem regnavit filius eius Epifanius Ptolemeus 200
annos XXIII. Fiunt simul anni V milia CCLXXX. Fuit autem in
Hierusalem princeps sacerdotum Manasses.
11. Post Epifanium autem Ptolemeum regnavit filius eius in Aegypto
Filomitor Ptolomeus annos XXXV. Fiunt simul anni V milia CCCXV.
Fuit autem in Hierusalem princeps sacerdotum Simon. 205
12. Hisdem temporibus illa in Maccabeis finiebantur in Hierusalem
sub Antiocho regem Syriae.
13. Post Filomitorem autem Ptolemeum regnavit filius eius Eu[g]ergetus
alius in Egypto annos XXVIII. Fiunt simul anni V milia CCCXLIII.
Fuit autem in Hierusalem princeps sacerdotum Onias alius. 210
14. Post hunc autem regnavit in Aegypto Soter uocatus Ptolemeus
annos XXXVI. Fiunt simul anni V milia CCCLXXX. Princeps
autem sacerdotum fuit in Hierusalem Hiesus annos VI et Onias alius
annos VII et Ianneus annos XV.
15. Post hunc autem regnavit in Aegypto novus Dionisus annos 215
XXVIII. Fiunt simul anni V milia CCCCVIII. Fuit autem in Hieru-
salem princeps sacerdotum Simon annos VIII et Iohannis annos XX.
16. Hisdem temporibus Sosates cognoscebatur ille Ebraicus Omirus
in Alexandria.
17. Post autem novum Dionisum [nouissimum] illum et <nouissi- 220
mum> nouissimorum Ptolomeorum regnavit in Aegypto Beronice
Cleopatra annos XXII. Fiunt simul anni V milia quadringenti XXXI.
18. Quod sunt omnes anni Ptolomeorum regna a morte Alexandri
usque ad mortem Cleopatre, qui et in Alexandriam Farum condidit,
simul anni ducenti XCIII. 225
19. Fiunt simul ab Adam usque ad mortem Cleopatrae anni V milia
quadringenti XXXI. Et deinceps tradidit dominus deus regnum
Aegyptiorum in manus Romanorum usque hodie. Et ultra rex non
est in Aegypto factus usque in hodiernum diem.

6,8. 194 Euergetus restitui sicut infra 6,9 et 6,13: Euergetus E' 6,16.
218 Sosates: poeta Iudaicus aliunde ignotus; vide Cohen in HThR 74 (1981), pp.
391 sqq. 6,17. 220-221 illum et nouissimum duce Frick scripsi: nouissi-
mum illum et E'

VII

1,1. Et quia minus sunt in Christianorum et Ebraeorum libris istos qui foris sunt gentium scripta temporum, necessitate compulsus praeuidi exquaerere et coniungere, qui apud nos sunt et quos in chronica deos et iros uocatos reges, et quae ab eis historialiter acta sunt tradere his in diuino uerbo, incipiens a diebus protopatoris Abraham et Isaac et Iacob patriarcharum et Moyse, et qui post eos iudices facti sunt in Israhel et prophetarum singillatim regna recensare cunctatim, ut nobis per omnium scripturarum eorum unitum sit regnum. 5

2,1. Assiriorum regna et tempora. Assiriorum primum regem scribunt Bilum, quem et ab Assyriis et Fynices et Persi deum uocauerunt. Hunc Dium Greco nomine interpretauerunt. Bilus uero primus in Assyrios regnauit et partem Asiae annos LXII. 10

2. Post haec regnauit Ninus annos LII. Iste condidit Nineuem ciuitatem Assyriorum, et ueniens in Italia uocatus est Picus.

3. Post quem Semiramis uxor eius annos XLII. Hanc Ream uocauerunt propter eius multam atrocitatem. 15

4. Post hanc Zamis regnauit annos XXXVIII.

V. Post hunc Arius ann. XXX.

VI. Post hunc Aralius ann. XL.

VII. Post hunc Xerses qui et Balleus ann. XXX. 20

VIII. Post hunc Armamithrus ann. XXXVIII.

VIII. Post hunc Bilochus ann. XXXV.

X. Post hunc Balleus ann. LII.

XI. Post hunc Aldatas ann. XXXV.

XII. Post hunc Mamithus ann. XXX. 25

XIII. Post hunc Bagchaleus ann. XXX.

XIII. Ita Sferus ann. XX.

XV. Mamilus ann. XXXV.

XVI. Spareus ann. XL.

XVII. Ascatagus ann. XL. 30

XVIII. Amintus ann. L.

XVIII. Atossa <quae> et Semiramis femina ann. XXIII.

XX. Bilochus ann. XXV.

1,1. 1 *ante* Et quia: singillatim antiquorum regum qui regnauerunt eorundem temporum de primo et secundo tomo manethone E' mg. sup. || 8 scripturarum *emendavi*: scribaturarum E' **2,2.** 14 Italia *correx*: Asia E' **2,4.** 17 Zamis *scripsi*: Zinas E' || 19 Aralius: Aranus E' || 24 Aldatas: Altallus E' || 26 Bagchaleus: Magchaleus E' || 27 Ita Sferus: Itas Ferus E' || 28 Mamilus: Mamithus E' || 32 Atossa quae: Attosai E' ||

- XXI. Belleroparus ann. XXXIII.
- XXII. Lampridus ann. XXXII. 35
- XXIII. Sosarus ann. XX.
- XXIII. Lamparus ann. XXX.
- XXV. Pannius <qui> et Zeus ann. XLV.
- XXVI. Sosarmus ann. XX.
- XXVII. Mithreus ann. XXXV. 40
- XXVIII. Tautalus ann. XXXII.
- XXVIII. <T>euteus ann. XL. Anno isto tricensimo secundo
capta est Ilios ab Acheis.
- XXX. Thineus ann. XXX.
- XXXI. Dercillus ann. XL. 45
- XXXII. Eupalus ann. XXXVIII.
- XXXIII. Laustenus ann. XLV.
- XXXIII. Peritiadus ann. XXX.
- XXXV. Ofrateus ann. XX.
- XXXVI. Ofratanus ann. L. 50
- XXXVII. Acrapazus ann. XL.
- XXXVIII. Thonos Conclerus qui uocatur Grece Sardanapallus
ann. XXX.
- XXXVIII. Ninus ann. XVIII.
5. Simul reges XXXVIII antiqui Assyriorum perseuerantes annos 55
mille quadringentos XXX. Ab istis autem in prima olimpiada anni
LXVII. [Assyriorum regnum].
- 3,1. Egyptiorum regnum inuenimus uetustissimum omnium regno-
rum. Cuius initium sub Manethono dicitur memoramus scribere.
2. Primum Deorum qui ab ipsis scribuntur faciam regna sic. 60
- I. Ifestum dicunt quidam deum regnare in Aegypto annos sex-
centos LXXX.
- II. Post hunc Solem Ifesti ann. LXXVII.
- III. Post istum Sosin <***> Osirim ann. CCCXX.
- III. Post hunc Oron ptoliarchum ann. XXVIII. 65
- V. Post hunc Tyfona ann. XLV.

3,1-6. 58-97 Manetho, Aegyptiaca, fr. 4, pp. 16-23 Waddell

38 qui *requiritur*: om. E' || 42 Teuteus: Euteus E' || 43 capta est Ilios *scripti*:
confixus est sol E' ; *vide supra* III.4.28 || 45 Dercillus: Cercillus E' || 52
Thonos Conclerus *em.* Frick: Thonosconclerus E' 2,5. 57 Assyriorum
regnum *exp.* Frick 3,1. 59 sub Manethono: *perperam vertit* ὑπὸ Μανέθωνος
3,2. 60 ab ipsis: *perperam vertit* παρ' αὐτοῖς || 64 *inter* Sosin et Osirim *lac.*
statui

Colliguntur Deorum regna anni mille DL.

3. Deinceps <I>mitheorum regna sic.

I. Protá Anubes ann. LXXXIII.

II. Post hunc Amusim Apiona grammaticus, qui etiam Aegyptiorum scripturas conposuit, secundum Inachum interpretatur, qui sub Argios initio regnavit, ann. LXVII. 70

4. [I.] Post hec Necyorum reges interpretatauit Imitheus uocans et ipsos <***>

5.]fortissimos uocans annos duo milia C. 75

I. Mineus et pronepotes ipsius VII regnauerunt ann. CCLIII.

II. Bochus et aliorum octo ann. CCCII.

III. Necherocheus et aliorum VII ann. CCXIII.

IIII. Similiter aliorum XVII ann. CCLXXVII.

V. Similiter aliorum XXI ann. CCLVIII. 80

VI. Othoi et aliorum VII ann. CCIII.

VII. <***>

VIII. Similiter et aliorum XIII ann. CXL.

IIIII. Similiter et aliorum XX ann. CCCCVIII.

X. Similiter et aliorum VII ann. CCIII. 85

Hec finis de primo tomo Manethoni habens tempora annorum duo milia C.

6. XI. Potestas Dio<s>politianorum ann. LX.

XII. Potestas Bubastanorum ann. CLIII.

XIII. Potestas Tanitorum ann. CLXXXIII. 90

XIIII. Potestas Sebennitorum ann. CCXXIII.

XV. Potestas Memfitorum ann. CCCXVIII.

XVI. Potestas Iliopolitorum ann. CCXXI.

XVII. Potestas Ermupolitorum ann. CCLX. 95

Usque ad septimam decimam potestatem secundum scribitur tomum, ut docet numerum, habentem annos mille quingentos XX. Haec sunt potestates Aegyptiorum.

4,1. De regna autem, que in ceteris gentibus facta sunt et paulatim creuerunt, proferamus temporibus regni Argiuorum.

3,3. 70–72 Apion, Aegyptiaca IV ap. Eus., P.E. X, 10, 16

3,3. 68 Imitheorum *scripsi*: Mitheorum E' || 69–72 Protá Anubes—ann. LXVII *restitui, textum valde corruptum et inordinatum codex praebet*: Protá Anube samusim qui etiam Aegyptiorum scripturas conposuit ann. LXXXIII. Post hunc Apiona grammaticus qui secundum Inachum interpretatur quem sub Argios initio regnauerunt ann. LXVII. 3,4. 73 *numerus ante* Post hec *seclusi* || Necyorum *scripsi*: Ecyniorum E' || 74 *post ipsos lac. recte sign.* Frick 3,5. 82 *dynastiam septimam excidisse bene vidit* Frick, *quapropter factum est ut numeri ante primas sex dynastias positi loco moverentur* 3,6. 88 Diopolitanorum E' || 95 tomum *em.* Frick: totum E'

2. I. Primus is Argus Inachus regnavit ann. L. Quo tempore 100
Moyses natus est.
II. Post hunc Foroneus regnavit ann. LX. Quo anno quin-
quagesimo quinto ex Aegypto egressio Iudeorum per
Moysen facta est.
III. Post hunc Apus regnavit ann. XXXV. 105
III. Post hunc Argius regnavit ann. LXX.
V. Post hunc Criassus regnavit ann. LVI.
VI. Post hunc Forbas regnavit ann. XXXV.
VII. Post hunc Triopas regnavit ann. LXVI.
VIII. Post hunc Crotopus regnavit ann. XXI. 110
VIII. Post hunc Sthenelus regnavit ann. XI.
X. Post hunc Danaus regnavit, qui illas filias L, ann. <L>.
XI. Post hunc Lyggeus Aegypti <ann.> XLI.
Sub quo Cadamus Aginorus ascendit Biotia Europissa ad exquirendum.
XII. Post hunc Abas regnavit ann. XXIII. 115
<XIII.> Post hunc Prytus regnavit ann. XXVII.
<XIV.> Post hunc Acrisius regnavit ann. XXXI.
<XV.> Post hunc Pelops regnavit post <Oi>nomaum ann.
XXXVIII. A quo Peloponissus uocatur.
<XVI.> Post hunc Atreus et Thyestus ann. XLV. 120
<XVII.> Post hos Agamemnus Atreus ann. XXXIII.
3. Colliguntur igitur ab Inacho rege usque ad desolationem Ilii, quod
est octauodecimo Agamemnonis, anni septingenti XVIII.
4. Ab Ilii deuastatione usque ad primam olympiadam anni CCCCVII:
et Porfyrius autem in historia philosophiae sic dixit. Post autem Ilii 125
deuastationem Agamemnonis reliquos annos XV.
5. <XVIII.> Post hunc Egesthus regnavit ann. VII.
<XVIII.> Post hunc Oresthus regnavit ann. XXVIII.
<XX.> Post hunc Penthilus regnavit ann. XXII.
6. Et Argiorum regnum dissipatum est. Colliguntur uero Argiorum 130
regna simul anni septingenti XC.

4,4. 124–125 Porph., Hist. phil., fr. 200, pp. 223–224 Smith

4,2. 100 is Argus *scripsi ex Graeco sermone* εἰς Ἴσργος: isargus E' || 112 L
addidi: om. E' || 113 Aegypti (*scil. filius*) *emendavi*: Aegyptius E' || ann. *inserui*:
om. E' || 114 Sub quo *scripsi*: a quo E' || 116–121 *numeros* XIII–XVII
inserui: om. E' || 118 post Oinomaum *correx*: cum Nomaum E' || 120 et
Thyestus *scripsi*: ethyestus E' 4,3. 122 igitur: nunc E'; *confudit* ὦν et
τοῖν || Inacho: Ichano E' || Ilii: solis E' || 124 Ab Ilii: a solis E' || 125
Ilii: solis E' 4,5. 127–129 *numeros* XVIII–XX *inserui*: om. E'

5.1. Siciniorum qui nunc Elladicorum uocantur reges et tempora. Proferamus iterum et Syciniorum qui nunc Elladici uocantur. Disponamus regna a quibus initiata sunt temporibus, et in quibus diffinierunt manifestemus.

135

2. Africanus quidem dixit sic tenere eis omnes annos mille VII: a minuetate autem eorum in primam olympiadam anni CCCXXVIII, sicut numeratur ab initio Sicyoniorum regni in primam olympiadam omnes annos mille CCCXXXVI.

3. Vicesimo nono autem anno patriarchae Iacob illum Syciniorum initiauit regnum sic:

140

I. Egialeus	ann. LII.	anni autem Iacob	
II. Europus	ann. XLV.	XXVIII,	
III. Telchus	ann. XX.	anni Isaac LXXXVIII,	
IIII. Amfus	ann. XXV.	anni Abraham CXIII	145
V. Thelxius	ann. LII.	Ellada initiauerunt	
VI. Egydrus	ann. XXXIII.	regna.	
VII. Turimachus	ann. XLV	Anno quadragesimo	
VIII. Leucippus	ann. LIII.	tertio Leucippi	
VIII. Mesapfus	ann. XLVII.	egressio Iudeorum	150
X. Eratus	ann. XLVI.	ex Aegypto.	
XI. Plammeus	ann. XLVIII.		
XII. Ortopolus	ann. LXV.		
XIII. Marathus	ann. XXX.		
XIII. Maratheus	ann. XX.		155
XV. Echyrus	ann. LV.		
XVI. Corax	ann. XX.		
XVII. Epopeus	ann. XXXV.		
XVIII. Laomedus	ann. XLIII.		
XVIII. Polybus	annos XLV.		160
XX. Inachus	annos XLV.		
XXI. Festus	annos L.		
XXII. Adrastus	annos III.		
XXIII. Polifidus	annos XXXI.		
XXIII. Pelasgus	annos XX.		165
XXV. Zeuxippus	annos XXXV.		

4. Usque Zeuxippum tenuit Sicyoniorum regnum permanens annos

5.2-5. 136-180 Iulius Africanus, Chron. III, fr. 29, pp. 282-283 Routh

138 numerantur: numeratur E' Frick || regni: regna E' Frick **5.3.** 160
Polybus *post* Laomedus *posui*: in codice invenitur *post* Zeuxippus || 165 Pelasgus
scripsi: Pelastus E'

nongentos LXXIX. Post Zeuxippum autem reges quidem non fuerunt, sed praebant eis sacerdotes <Apollinis> Carnii annos XXVIII.

5. Quorum primus sacerdos Archelaus annum I. 170

Post hunc Automidus annum I.

Post hunc Theoclytus annum I.

Post hunc Euneus annos IIII.

Post hunc Theonomus annum I.

Post hunc Amficyus annos <X>VIII. 175

Post hunc Charidus annum I.

Qui non sustinens cibaria fugiit. A quo in prima olimpiada ut fertur scriptura anni CCCXXVIII.

Fiunt uero omnes Sicioniorum regna ab Egialeo usque in prima olympiada anni mille CCCXXXVI. 180

6,1. Athineorum reges. Nondum multo transacto tempore Aethineorum regnum ab Aegypto populi egressio. Anno enim ducentesimo octauo egressionis primus in Athinas regnauit Cecrops procerus et qui post eum, sicut manifestantur, sic.

2. I. Cecrops procerus ann. L. 185

Anno trecesimo quinto Cecropus Promitheus et Epimitheus et Atlas scribuntur, qui et Diu scribuntur.

<II. Cranaus ann. VIII.>

III. Amfictryus ann. XL.

IIII. Erichthonius ann. X. 190

V. Pandius ann. L.

VI. Erectheus ann. XL.

VII. Cecrops Erectheus ann. LIII.

VIII. Pandius Cecropus ann. XLIII.

[VIII.] Temporibus Pandii Cecropi Cadmus Aginori litterarum 195
elementa primus duxit ad Grecos.

VIII. Egeus Pandionus annos XLVIII.

X. Theseus Egei ann. XXXI.

XI. Menestheus ann. XVIII.

XII. Dimofus ann. XXXV. 200

XIII. Oxyntus ann. XIII.

XIII. Afydus ann. I.

5,4. 168 noningentos LXXIX *requiritur*: quingentos LXXXI E' || 169 Apollinis *inserui planitatis causa* 5,5. 170 Quorum *correx*i: quem E' || 172 Theoclytus: Methudutus E' || 175 annos XVIII *correx*i: VIII E' || 176 Charidemus: Charidus E' || 177 Qui non *emendavi*: Osuch E'; *perperam vertit Barbarus* "Ος οὐχ 6,2. 188 II. Cranaus ann. VIII *inserui*: om. E' || 189-195 *numeros* III-VIII *correx*i || 196 elementa: uersos E'; *vertit* στοιχοῦς *pro* στοιχεῖα.

XV. Thymytus ann. VIII.

XVI. Melanthus ann. XXXVII.

XVII. Codrus ann. XXI.

205

3. A Cecropo procero usque Codrum anni quadringenti XCII. Post Codrum autem fuerunt dum uixerunt principes. Difys autem uocatus est Cecrops, quoniam procer staturae fuit prae omnibus.

4. Principes perpetui. Post Codrum autem primus filius eius perpetuus factus est princeps Athineorum.

210

I. Medrus Codri ann. XX.

II. Acastus ann. XXXVIII.

III. Archippus ann. XL.

III. Forbus ann. XXXIII.

V. Megaclus ann. XXVIII.

215

VI. Diognitus ann. XXVIII.

VII. Fereclus ann. XV.

VIII. Arifrus ann. XXX.

VIII. Thispeus ann. XL.

X. Agamistor ann. XXVI.

220

XI. Thersippus ann. XXIII.

XII. Eschylus ann. <XXIII>.

Eschylo anno secundo prima olympiada a[ddu]cta est a Grecis.

5. Colliguntur uero ab initio regni Cecropi in prima olympiada anni octingenti XIII. Post Eschylum autem illi [XIII]:

225

XIII. Almeus ann. II.

XIII. Corops ann. X.

XV. Esimidus ann. X.

XVI. Celdicus ann. X.

XVII. Ippomenus ann. X.

230

XVIII. Leocratis ann. X.

XVIII. Apsandrus ann. X.

XX. Erygius ann. X.

6. Et cessauit regnum Athineorum in olympiada uicesima quarta. Fiunt uero omnem Athineorum fortitudinem a Cecropo usque Erygium ann. noningenti septem.

235

7,1. Latinorum qui et Romanorum reges. Latinorum autem qui et Romanorum regnum fortiolem Assyriorum et Aegyptiorum et Argiorum

6,3. 207 dum: sicut E'; *legit ως pro έως* 6,4. 209 perpetui: diabii E' || 209-210 perpetuus: diabius E' || 222 XXIII: *numerus deest in codice* || 223 adducta: *acta seu celebrata vertere debuit* 6,5. 225 XIII *ditlographia ortum recte exp.* Frick || 226 ann. II *requiritur*: X E' 6,6. 235 Erygium: Oxyrium E'

seu et Sicyoniorum quem et Grecorum et Athineorum in historia inuenimus memorantem. Et nos quidem sequi pedes Romanorum 240 quem et Latinorum tempora disponimus.

2. Latinorum autem regnum ab Eraclio quidem et Telefo, qui et Latinus uocatur, conamur in quibus prescripsimus dicendo, post quos regnauit Eneas ille Frygius, Agchissi et Afroditis filius, nono et decimo post uastationem Ilii, in diebus Heli sacerdotis et Samuhelis 245 prophetae secundum Ebraicam historiam.

3. Optinuit autem Romanorum imperium usque annos sexcentos LIII sic.

I. Eneas Siluius annos XXXVIII.

II. Ascanius Siluius annos XXXV. 250

III. Albas Siluius annos XXXVI.

IIII. Tittus Siluius annos XXXVIII.

V. Francus Siluius annos LIII.

VI. Latinus Siluius annos LVI.

VII. Procnax Siluius annos XLVI. 255

VIII. Tarcinius Siluius annos XVIII.

VIII. Cidensus Siluius annos XXXII.

X. Abintinus Siluius annos XXI.

XI. Rimus Siluius annos XXVIII.

Usque Rimum Syluium Latinorum regnum diffamabatur, permanens 260 usque ad annos CCCCII.

4. Post hunc autem regnauit Romulus qui et condidit Romam, a quo Romani uocati sunt.

Romulus regnauit ann. XXXVIII.

Nummus Pompeius ann. XLI. 265

Tullius Seruilius ann. XXXII.

Lucius Tarcinius ann. XXIII.

Tittus Superbus ann. XXXVIII.

Tulius Seruius ann. XLI<III>.

Cyintus Tarcinius ann. XXXV. 270

5. Colliguntur autem et a Romulo anni ducenti LI. Fiunt uero simul Latinorum qui et Romanorum anni sexcenti LIII. Defexit autem regnum in olympiada sexagesima sexta. Et tunc princepes ordinati sunt, usque dum regnaret Gaius Iulius Caesar.

7,1. 239 et 241 quem: *bis legit τὸν pro τῶν* || 240 sequi pedes: *fortasse vertit*
παρὰ πόδας 7,2. 243 post quos *scripsi*: cum quibus E' || 245 Ilii: solis
E' 7,3. 247 usque: *perperam vertit ἐπὶ* || 261 usque ad: *ἐπὶ* || CCCCII
em. Frick: CCCCII E' 7,4. 269 XLIII *em.* Frick: XLI E'

8,1. Tempora regni Lacedemoniorum. Regnauerunt et Lacedemonii 275
per annos CCCL et defecerunt in prima olympiada quae facta est
sub Achaz regem Iudae in diebus Esiae prophetae, sicut scirent
eorum initium ab Erystheum initiatum.

2. Anno uicesimo Sahul initiauerunt Lacedemoniorum reges, et defe- 280
cerunt in anno primo Achaz regi Iude, in quo tempore prima olym-
piada a Grecis a[ddu]cta est.

3. [I.] Illa autem singillatim regnorum haec.

I. Erystheus ann. XLII.

II. Egeus ann. II.

III. Echestratus ann. XXXIII. 285

<IV.> Labotus ann. XXXVII.

V. Dorystheus ann. XXVIII.

VI. Agisilaus ann. XXX.

VII. Et Menelaus ann. XLIII.

VIII. Archelaus ann. LX. 290

VIII. Teleclus ann. XL.

X. Alcamanus ann. XXXII.

[XI. Automedus ann. XXV.]

4. Simul reges Lacedem[i]oniorum permanserunt in regno annos 295
CCCL. Et Lacedemoniorum regnum dissipatum est.

9,1. Corinthinorum reges et tempora. Corinthinorum regnum stabi-
litum est secundo anno Erysthei regi Lacedemoniorum. Permansit
autem per annos CCCXXIII. Eodem uero tempor[a]e Lacedemonii
congregantes conmutauerunt illos tricentos XXIII annos, quos obti-
nuerunt Corinthinorum reges. Erystheo regnante Lacedemoniorum 300
anno secundo regnauit autem Corinthinorum primus Alitus, et qui
sequuntur post haec sic regnauerunt.

2. I. Alitus ann. XXXV.

II. Exius ann. XXXVII.

III. Agelaus ann. XXXIII. 305

III. Prymnus ann. XXXV.

V. Bacchus ann. XXXV.

VI. Agelas ann. XXXIII.

VII. Eudimus ann. XXV.

8,1. 276 CCCL *correx*: CCCXXV E' **8,2.** 279 uicesimo: uisesimo
E' || 281 adducta *sicut supra* 6.4. **8,3.** 282–286 *numeros* I–IV *correx* ||
289 Et Menelaus *dubitanter duce Scaligero scripsi*: Cemenelaus E' || 291 Teleclus
emendavi: Celeclus E' || 292 XXXII: XXVII E' || 293 XI. Automedus
ann. XXV *expunxi* **8,4.** 294 Lacedemoniorum *pr.*: Lacedemioniorum
E' **9,1.** 298 tempore: temporae E' **9,2.** 309 Eudimus: Eumidus E'

- VIII. Aristomidus ann. XXXV. 310
 VIIII. Igemonius ann. XVI.
 X. Alexander ann. XXV.
 XI. Telestus ann. VIIII.
 XII. Automenus ann. IIII.
3. Hii Corinthinorum reges sub anno uicesimo primo Sahulis regi 315
 Iudae initiauerunt, et defecerunt anno sexto decimo regni Ioatham
 fili Oziae, patri<s> autem Achaz regis Iudae.
- 10,1.** Macedoniorum reges et tempora. Macedoniorum autem reg-
 num non silendum est. Et enim Romeis obtinentibus fortitudinem
 nondum longinquo tempore sub Ozia regem Iudeorum anno tri- 320
 censimo tertio nouimus eam sustentare. Et regnauit per annos
 DCXLVII, cessauit autem [annos unusquisque] in <centesima> quin-
 quagesima tertia olympiada. Regnauit autem Ozias in Hierusalem
 et in Iuda annos LII.
2. Sub tricensimo tertio autem anno Oziae Macedonorum regnum 325
 ordinatum est, Cranaus primus in Macedonia regnans, sicut numerus
 manifestat, sic.
3. I. Cranaus ann. XXVIII.
 II. Cynus ann. XII.
 III. Tyrimmus ann. XXXVIII. 330
 IIII. Perdicus ann. LI.
 V. Argeus ann. XXXVIII.
 VI. Filippus ann. XXVI.
 VII. Aeropus ann. XXXVIII.
 VIII. Alcetus ann. XXVIII. 335
 VIIII. Amyntus ann. L.
 X. Alexander ann. XLIII.
 XI. Perdicus ann. XXVIII.
 XII. Arcelaus ann. XXIII.
 XIII. Orestus ann. III. 340
 XIII. Arcelaus alius ann. unum et dimidium.
 XV. Amyntus ann. III.
 XVI. Pausanius ann. I et dimidium.
 XVII. Argeus ann. II.
 XVIII. Amyntus alius ann. XVIII. 345
 XVIII. Alexander alius ann. II.

9,3. 315 uicesimo *requiritur*: tricesimo E' || 316 anno sexto decimo: quinto decimo E' || 317 patris *scripsi*: patri E' **10,1.** 322 annos unusquisque *seclusi: videtur* ἐτη ἑκάστος *pro* ἐν τῇ ἑκατοστῇ *Barbarum legisse; ergo* centesima *inserui* **10,3.** 341 Arcelaus: Arceclaus E' || 344 Argeus ann. II: III E'

XX. Ptolemeus ann. III.

XXI. Perdicus alius ann. VI.

XXII. Filippus ann. XXVI.

XXIII. Amyntus alius ann. VI.

350

XXIII. Alexander alius ann. XII.

Alexander omnia regna tenens Macedonorum regno coniunxit.

4. Post Alexandrum autem conditorem in principes eius rebus uenerunt.

5. Et Macedonorum principatu successit Filippus frater Alexandri, et sic secundum ordinem.

355

XXV. Filippus frater ann. VII.

XXVI. Casandrus ann. XVIII.

XXVII. Filii Casandri ann. III.

XXVIII. Dimitrius ann. V.

XXVIII. Pyrrus mens. XI.

360

XXX. Lysimachus ann. V.

XXXI. Ptolomeus Ceraunus ann. II.

XXXII. Meleagrus mens. VII.

XXXIII. Antipatrus mens. II.

XXXIII. Sosthenus ann. II.

365

XXXV. Antigonus Gonata ann. XXXV.

XXXVI. Dimitrius ann. X.

XXXVII. Antigonus alius ann. XV.

XXXVIII. Filippus alius ann. XLII.

XXXVIII. Perseus ann. X.

370

6. Haec Macedonorum regna regnantes ab anno Oziae regis Iudae tricensimo tertio obtinuerunt per annos DCXLVII et cessauerunt in olympiada centesima LIII.

11,1. Lydiorum regna et tempora. Et Lydiorum regnum tenuit per annos CCXXXII. Incipiens ab Ardi<s>o primum regem Lydiorum sub Cryssum illum a Cyro Persarum dissipatum finiit in olympiada quinquagensima octava.

375

2. Initium uero primae olympiadae inuenitur exordium regni Lydiorum in anno primo Achaz. Regnauit quidem et Lydiorum principatus per annos CCXXXII sic.

380

3. I. Ardisus ann. XXXVI.

II. Alyatus ann. XIII.

III. Midus ann. XII.

349 XXII: XII E' || 351 ann. XII: XIII E' 10,5. 354 principatu *emendavi*: principato E' || 358 Filii Casandri *scripsi*: Pedes Casandrus E' || 369 ann. XLII: XLV E' 11,1. 375 Ardiso *emendavi*: Ardio E' 11,3. 381 Ardisus *scripsi*: Ardirus E'

III. Caudalus ann. XVII.

V. Gygnus ann. XXXVI.

385

VI. Ardyssus ann. XXXVIII.

VII. Sadyatus ann. XV.

VIII. Aliatus alius ann. XLVIII.

VIII. Cryssus ann. XV.

4. Haec Lydiorum regnum, incipiens a principio primae olympiadae in primo anno Achaz, regis Iudae. Et cessavit in olympiada quinquagensima octava. Fiunt anni CCXXXII. 390

12,1. Midorum regna et tempora. Midorum autem regnum obtinuit per annos CCLXVIII. Et hos Cyrus Persus destruens regnum eorum in Persida duxit in principio quinquagensimae quintae olympiadae. In ipsa igitur quinquagensima quarta olympiada fiunt CCXVI, sicut pridem <quinquaginta> trium annorum primae olympiade Midorum initium inuenimus esse regnum, quod est quinto decimo anno Oziae regis Iudae. 395

2. Quod uero CCLXVIII annorum Midorum obtinuerunt tempora sic a principio Arbaci, qui primus regnavit in Midia, usque Astyagum, quem Cyrus exterminans in Persida regnum migravit. 400

3. I. Arbacus ann. XXVIII.

II. Sosarmus ann. XXX.

III. Mamythus ann. XL.

405

III. Cardyceus ann. XXIII.

V. Diycus ann. LIII.

VI. Fraortus ann. XXIII.

VII. Cyaxarus ann. XXXII.

VIII. Astyagus ann. XXXVIII.

410

4. Haec Midorum regna permanserunt per annos CCLXVIII, a quinto decimo anno Oziae regis Iuda, hoc est LIII annorum <ante> primam olympiadam. Finit autem quinquagensima quarta olympiada, anno tricensimo octavo regnante Astuago, quem exterminavit Cyrus Persus in quinquagensima quarta olympiada. Et Lydorum et Midorum regna dissipata sunt sub Cyro Persarum. 415

13,1. Tempora regni Persarum. Cyrus Persarum rex dissipans regna Lydorum et Midorum regnavit olympiadas VII et dimidiam. In anno

387 Sadyatus: Salyatus E' 12,1. 394 hos *correx*: haec E' || 396 igitur *correx*: nunc E' || 397 pridem: *perperam vertit* πρὸ || quinquaginta *excidisse* censebat Gelzer 12,2. 401 Arbaci *correx*: Abbaci E' || Astyagum *correx*: Artyagum E' 12,3. 404 ann. XXX *emendavi*: ann. III E' 12,4. 412-413 ante primam olympiadam *emendavi*: primae olympiadae E'; *legit Barbarus* πρώτης *pro* πρὸ τῆς α'

autem primo regni ipsius, in quo contigit consumari septuaginta annos depred[ic]ationi<s> genti Iudeorum, relaxauit multitudinem filiorum Israhel remeare ad propriam habitationem. In quo anno fuit initium quinquagensimae quintae olympiade. Tenuit autem Persarum regnum usque Darium, quem occidit Alexander Macedo et conditor, annos CCXXX sic. 420

2. I. Cyrus Persus ann. XXX. 425
- II. Cambysus ann. VIII.
- III. S<m>erdus <mens.> VII.
- IIII. Darius iuuenis ann. <XXX>VI.
- V. Xerxes maior ann. XX.
- VI. Artabanus <mens.> VII. 430
- VII. Artaxerxes minor ann. XL.
- VIII. Xerxes iunior mens. II.
- <VIII.> Sogdianus mens. VII.
- X. Darius Nothus ann. <X>VIII.
- XI. Artaxerxes Memoratus ann. XLII. 435
- XII. Ochus filius Artaxerxi ann. XXII.
- XIII. Alsus filius Ochi ann. III.
- <XIII. Darius filius Arsami ann. VI.>

3. Alexander Macedo et conditor exterminans Persarum regnum traduxit in Macedonia regnum permanentem annos CCXXX, sub olympiada centesima duodecima. 440

14,1. Macedonorum regna et Syrie et tempora ab Alexandro conditore. Alexander Filippi coepit regnare Macedonorum in olympiada centesima undecima, omnia simul regna conprehendens et sub Macedonorum iure redi<g>ens, per annos duodecim et dimidium. Obiit in anno <decimo tertio> relinquens post se principes IIII. 445

2. Filippum fratrem suum Macedoniae regnum, Antigonum autem Asiae reliquid regnare, Filippum uocatum Ptolomeum omnem Aegyptum precepit regnare, Seleucum autem quem et Nicanorem Syriam omnem iussit regnare. 450

3. Qui autem regnauerunt in Syria per tempora sunt ita.

- I. Seleucus qui et Nicanor ann. XXXII.
- II. Antiochus Soter ann. XVIII.

13,1. 420 depredationis *correx*i: depredicationi E' **13,2.** 427 Smerdius mens. VII *legendum opinor*: Serdius VII E' || 428 Darius iuuenis ann. XXXVI *emendavi*: VI E' || 430 Artabanus mens. VII *scribendum puto*: Artabanus VII E' || 433-438 VIII *inserui*: om. E'; *ergo numeros X-XIII* *correx*i || 434 Darius Nothus ann. XVIII: Darius Stultus ann. VIII E' || 438 XIII. Darius filius Arsami ann. VI *addidi*: om. E' **14,1.** 445 redigens *correx*i: rediens E' || 446 *verbis* decimo tertio *lac. supplevi*

- III. Antiochus Theoidus ann. XV.
 IIII. Seleucus Callinicus ann. XXI. 455
 V. Seleucus Ceraunus ann. III.
 VI. Antiochus Megaclus ann. XXXVI.
 VII. Antiochus Filomitor ann. XII.
 <VIII.> Antiochus Epifanius ann. XI. Iste est, qui in Iudeis iniquitatem inposuit, cuius historia in Maccabeis. 460
 VIIII. Antiochus Eupator ann. II.
 X. Dimitrius Soter ann. XII.
 XI. Alexander Grypus ann. X.
 XII. Dimitrius Grypus ann. III.
 XIII. Antiochus Situs ann. VIIII. 465
 XIII. Dimitrius iuuenis ann. IIII.
 XV. Antiochus ille Grypi ann. XII.
 XVI. Antiochus Cizicinus ann. XVIII.
 XVII. Filippus II.
 4. Sub Filippo nouissimo Syriorum regnum dissipatum est. Macedonorum principatum uenit in Romanos, Gaio Iulio Romanorum Caesare migrans eam. Et permanens per annos CCXXI et Siriorum principatum dissipatum est. 470
15,1. Egyptiorum regna et tempora. Egypti autem reges, qui et Ptolemei nuncupati sunt, regnauerunt post Alexandri discessum annos 475 CCXCIIII sic.
 2. I. Filippus Ptolemeus ann. VII.
 II. Filadelfus Alexander ann. XII.
 III. Lagous Ptolemeus ann. XX.
 IIII. Eu[g]ergetus Ptolemeus ann. XXXVIII. 480
 V. Filopator Ptolemeus ann. XVII.
 VI. Epifanius Ptolemeus ann. XXIII.
 VII. Filomitor Ptolemeus ann. XXXV.
 VIII. Eu[g]ergetus Fauscus Ptol. ann. XXVIII.
 VIIII. Soter Ptolemeus ann. XXXVI. 485
 X. Filadelfus Soter Ptol. ann. XXV.
 XI. Nouus Dionysus Ptol. ann. XXVIII.
 XII. Cleopatra ann. XXII.
 3. Dissipatum est Ptolemeorum principatum sub Octauiano A<u>gusto Romanorum imperatorem, sub imperium eius anno XIII, permanens annos CCXCIIII. 490

14,3. 459 VIII *inserui: om.* E' **15,2.** 480 Euergetus *correxī ut supra* VI,6,8.9.13: Euergetus E' || 482 ann. XXIII *em.* Frick: XIXIII E' || 484 Euergetus *iterum emendavi:* Euergetus E' || 488 ann. XXII *em.* Frick: XII E' **15,3.** 489 Augusto: Augusto E'

16,1. I. Primus factus est princeps sacerdotum Hiesus filius Iosedec simul Zorobabel.

II. Post hunc Iacimus filius Hiesu.

III. Post hunc Eliasibus filius Iacimi.

495

IIII. Post hunc Iodae filius Eliasibi.

V. Post hunc Ionathes filius Iodae.

2. VI. Post hunc Iaddus filius Ionathes. Quo tempore Alexander Macedo et conditor Alexandriam condidit. Et ueniens in Hierusalem domino deo adorauit dicens: 'Gloria tibi, deus, qui uiuis in secula, solus princeps'.

500

VII. Post hunc Onias filius Iaddi.

3. VIII. Post hunc Eleazarus filius Oniae. Quo tempore illi septuaginta Ebreorum sapientes in Alexandria legem interpretauerunt Greco eloquio.

505

VIII. Post hunc Onias filius Simoni frater Eleazari.

4. X. Post hunc Simon filius Iaddi. Quo tempore Hiesus filius Sirach, qui et magnam Ebreis scripsit sapientiam, agnoscebatur.

5. XI. Post hunc Onias filius Simoni. Quo tempore Antiochus Syrorum rex Iudeos expugnans Greca loquutione coegebatur.

510

XII. Post hunc Iudas Maccabeus filius Oniae.

XIII. Post hunc Ionathas frater Iudae.

XIII. Post hunc Simon frater Ionathae.

XV. Post hunc Iohannis filius Ionathae, qui dicebatur Yrcanus.

6. XVI. Post hunc Aristobolus filius Iohannis. Qui primus inposuit deadema regni principatum sacerdotii.

515

XVII. Post hunc Ianneus qui et Alexander, rex simul et princeps sacerdotum.

7. Usque ad istum illi qui a Cyro uncti praefuerunt permanentes per annos quadringentos LXXXIII, quae sunt ebdomadas annorum LXVIII, quae et a Danihele quemadmodum diffinierunt (g).

520

8. Usque ad Ianneum autem quem et Alexandrum principem sacerdotum et regem, in quo finierunt, qui secundum ritum principes sacerdotum uncti nominabantur.

9. XVIII. Post hos regnauit Salina[i] <quae> et Alexandra uxor eius.

525

10. XVIII. Post hanc tumultum inter se eius pueri facientes Pompeius Romanorum archistratigus expugnauit Hierusalem tenens usque ad

16,1-6. 492-518 Eus., D. E. VIII, 2,62-79

g) Dan. 9,24-26

16,1. 497 Ionathes *scripsi*: Iohannes E' **16,2.** 498 Ionathes *scripsi*: Iohanni E' **16,7.** 520 quadringentos *correx*: quadrintis E' **16,8.** 522 Usque ad Ianneum *scripsi*: post Ianneum E' **16,9.** 525 Salina quae et Alexandra: Salina et Alexandra E' **16,10.** 526 hanc *scripsi*: hunc E'

progressionem templi apertionis. Tunc gens illa Iudeorum tributaria facta est Romanis. Principatum quidem sacerdotii Yrcano tradidit, Antipatrum autem Ascalona Palestine procuratorem faciens.

530

11. Quo tempore Romanorum primus monarchus Gaius Iulius Caesar. Regnavit autem annos XVIII. Post hunc Augustus regnavit annos LVI et qui post eos sequentens.

17,1. Tempora regni Romanorum. Romanorum autem regnavit monarchus primus Gaius Iulius Caesar in olympiada centesima octuagesima tertia. Iste est Gaius Iulius Caesar, qui bissextum et solis cursum adinuenit.

535

2. Post istum regnavit Octavianus qui et Augustus et qui sequuntur sic.

Consules.

- | | |
|--|-----|
| I. Augustus regnavit ann. LVI. Dedit consulatus XIII. | 540 |
| II. Tiberius regnavit ann. XXIII. Consules V. | |
| III. Gaius regnavit ann. IIII. Consules IIII. | |
| IIII. Claudius regnavit ann. XV. Consulatus V. | |
| V. Nero regnavit ann. XIII. Consules IIII. | |
| Galbas, Otho, Bitellio ann. I et dimidium. | 545 |
| VI. Titus regnavit ann. III. Consules VIII. | |
| VII. Dometianus regnavit ann. XVI. Consules VII. | |
| VIII. Nerua regnavit ann. II. Consules IIII. | |
| VIIII. Traianus regnavit ann. XX. Consules VI. | |
| X. Hadrianus regnavit ann. XII. Consules IIII. | 550 |
| XI. Antoninus regnavit ann. XIII. Consules IIII. | |
| XII. Marcus Byrrus regnavit ann. XX. Consules XXIIII. | |
| XIII. Commodus regnavit an. XIII. Consules VII. | |
| XIIII. Vespasianus regnavit ann. VIII. Consules X. | |
| XV. Pertinax, Didius ann. <***>. Consules IIII. | 555 |
| XVI. Seuerus regnavit menses III. Consules <***>. | |
| XVII. Gitas, Caracallus regnavit ann. <***>. Consules XXV. | |
| XVIII. Macrinus, Iliogabalus regnavit ann. V. Consulem I. | |
| XVIII. Alexander Mameas regnavit ann. XIII. Consules III. | |
| Maximus regnavit ann. III. Consules II. | 560 |
| XX. Balbinus et Publianus et Cordus annum I. | |
| XXI. Gordianus regnavit ann. VI. Consules II. | |
| XXII. Filippus regnavit ann. VI. Consules III. | |
| XXIII. Decius regnavit annos II. Consulem I. | |
| XXIII. Gallus et Volusianus, hii duo regnauerunt ann. III. | 565 |
| Dederunt consulatos VII. | |

17,2. 542 Gaius regnavit ann. IIII *emendavi*: X E' || 545 Otho: Stultus E' || 555-557 *numeri desunt in codice* || 563 XXII *em.* Frick: XXI E' ||

- XXV. Emilianus et Valerianus et Calerianus, hii tres simul
ann. XV. Consules VII.
- XXVI. Gallianus cum Claudio ann. II. Consulem I.
- XXVII. Cyintillus et Aurilianus regnauerunt ann. VI. Dederunt 570
consulatos III.
- XXVIII. Tacitus et Florianus ann. I. Consulem I.
- XXVIII. Probus regnauit annos VI. Consules V.
- XXX. Carus et Carinus et Numerianus, simul hii tres ann.
II et dimidium. Dederunt consulatos unusquisque II. 575
- XXXI. Dioclitianus et Maximianus regnauerunt ann. XXI,
regnauerunt et Constantius et Maximus cum eis annos
XII.
- XXXII. Constantius et Constantinus magnus cum Constantino
filio eius ann. XXXI. 580
- XXXIII. Constantius et Costa et Constantinus iunior simul
ann. XXIII.
- XXXIII. Iulianus regnauit ann. II. Consules II.
- XXXV. Iobianus regnauit menses VIII.
- XXXVI. Valentinianus et Valens et filii eorum Gratianus et 585
Valentinianus annos XXII.
- XXXVII. Theodosius magnus cum Arcadio et Honorio filios
eius simul annos XXXVI.
- XXXVIII. Theodosius cum Valentiniano ann. LI.
- XXXVIII. Valentinianus cum Marciano ann. V. 590
- XL. Marcianus solus ann. VII.
- XLI. Leo cum Anthimo ann. XVIII.
- XLII. Leo iunior cum Zinone ann. II.
- XLIII. Basiliscus et Marcus mens. XX.
- XLIII. Zino solus ann. <***>. 595
- XLV. Anastasius solus ann. <***>.

VIII

- 1,1. Ecce quidem manifestauimus ueraciter omnium potestatem regum.
Volumus praecurrere quod ad Romanorum pertinet imperium.
2. Usque Cleopatra enim facta est omnis Egyptiorum Ptolemeorum

572 XXVIII *em.* Frick: XVIII E' || 590 Valentinianus: Valentinus E' ||
595–596 *Zenonis et Anastasii annorum numeri in codice desunt*

1,1. 2 quod *em.* Frick: quod E'

potestas permanens annos CCXCIII, et post Cleopatra ultra non regnauerunt in Egypto usque in hodiernum diem.

5

3. In diebus, quibus regnauerunt Ptolomei in Egypto, et fecerunt Romani proelium cum Spanis, et superauerunt Romani Spanos et leuauerunt imperatorem Iulium quem et Cesarem uocauerunt. Iste est Gaius Iulius Cesar, qui et bissextum et solis cursum adinuenit. Hic et consolatum unumquemque annum fieri constituit.

10

2,1. Regnauit autem Gaius Iulius Caesar annos XVIII, et post hunc Octauianus qui et Augustus.

2. I. Gaio Iulio Caesare primo, Marco clarissimo.

II. Gratiano et Antonino clarissimorum.

III. Gaio Iulio Caesare secundo et Flauio Marco clarissimo.

15

Irtio et Pansa uirorum inlustrium.

Bruto et Collatino clarissimorum.

Gaio Iulio Caesare tertio et Lepido inlustrium.

Munatio [et] Planco <et ***> inlustrium.

Aemilio et Caesare inlustrium.

20

Antonio et Seruilio clarissimorum.

Isaurico et Crispo clarissimorum.

Octauiano et Pollione clarissimorum.

Censorino et Sabino clarissimorum.

Pulchro et Norbano clarissimorum.

25

Gallo et Agrippa clarissimorum.

Octauiano et <Cocceo> Neru<a> [filio] clarissimorum.

Pompeio et Cornificio clarissimorum.

Libone et Antonio clarissimorum.

Cicerone et Publicola inlustrium.

30

3. Hisdem consulibus Iulius Caesar occisus est. Et sumpsit imperium Octauianus qui et Augustus ann. LVI, et dedit consulatos XIII. Fiunt uero ab Adam usque initium imperii Augusti anni V milia CCCCLXVII.

1,3. 9 Gaius *em.* Frick: cuius E'; *nomina consulum et imperatorum saepe in codice parisino depravata quantum potui emendavi* 2,2. 13 primo: secundo E' || 15

Marco clarissimo *ex primo consulatu iteratum perperam exp.* Frick *in editione, sed postea* (p. 634) *restituit* || 16 Irtio et Pansa: Iurto et Paneo || 17 Bruto et Collatino: Burto et Cortilano || 19 Munatio Planco et *scripsi et lac. ante inlustrium signavi*: Munatio et Plachano E'; *unum eundemque consulem Barbarus perperam reduplicavit* || 20 Aemilio et Caesare: Emelio et Caesario || 21 Antonio et Seruilio: Antonino et Seruiliano || 22 Isaurico: Chryssaorico || 23 Octauiano et Pollione: Octauio et Polione || 24 Censorino et Sabino: Consorio et Sauino || 25 Pulchro et Norbano: Pulco et Enobauda || 26 Agrippa: Agrippino || 27 Cocceo Nerua *scripsi*: Neru filio E'; *Barbarum legisse uioû pro κοκίου recte susp.* Frick || 28 Pompeio et Cornificio: Pompiio et Cornilio || 29 Libone et Antonio: Libono et Antonino || 30 Publicola: Publicollatonem

- 3,1.** I. Augusto primo et Tollo. 35
 II. Augusto secundo et Sosio.
 III. Augusto tertio et Crasso.
 IIII. Augusto quarto et Messala.
 V. Aenobarbo quinto et Scipione.
 VI. Augusto sexto et Apuleio.
2. VII. Augusto septimo et Agrippa. 40
 Hisdem consulibus Chartagina renouata est idos Iulias, Epifi XVIII.
 VIII. Augusto octauo et Silano.
 VIIII. Augusto nono et 'l'auro.
 X. Augusto decimo et Silano.
3. XI. Augusto undecimo et Pisone. 45
 In his temporibus, sub consulato Lentuli et Siluani, uidit Zacharias
 uisionem angeli in templo domini.
 XII. Aruntio et Marcellio.
 XIII. Celso et Tiberio.
 XIII. Lollio et Aemilio. 50
 XV. Apuleio et Silio.
 XVI. Saturnino et Cinno.
4. <XVII.> Lentulo et Siluano.
 In his temporibus adnuntiauit Elisabeth angelus de Iohanne, in eodem
 consulatum Lentuli et Siluani, VIII kl. Aprilis. 55
 XVIII. Sabino et Antonio.
 XVIII. Lentulo secundo et Lepido.
 XX. Furnio et Pisone.
 XXI. Messala et Quirino.
 XXII. Maximo et Tuberone. 60
 XXIII. Africano et Maximo.
 XXV. Aruntio et Crispino.
 XXVI. Censorino et Gallo.
 XXVII. Nerone et Placido.
5. XXVIII. Balbo et Vetere. 65
 Eodem tempor[a]e missus est angelus Gabrihel ad Mariam uirgi-
 nem, sub Augusto tertio decimo, octauarum kalendarum Aprilium.

3,1. 35 Sosio: Socio || 37 Messala: Messalo || 38 Aenobarbo: Thenebaudo
 || 39 Apuleio: Apulia
3,2. 40 Agrippa *em.* Frick: Agrppa E' || 42 Silano: Siluano || 44 Silano:
 Sullio **3,3.** 50 Lollio et Aemilio: Tullio etemellio E' Tullio et Emellio
prop. Frick || 51 Apuleio et Silio: Asperio et Seuerio **3,4.** 53 XVII
inserui: om. E' || 56 Sabino et Antonio: Sauino et Antonino || 58 Furnio:
 Rufino || 59 Messala et Quirino: Mesallo et Seriniano || 62 XXIV *om.* E'
 || Crispino: Prisco || 63 Gallo: Gallione || 64 Nerone: Neronte **3,5.**
 65 Balbo et Vetere: Balbino et Bereto || 66 tempore *emendavi:* temporae E'

XXVIII. Felecio et Silla.

XXX. Lentulo et Augure.

XXXI. Caesare et Austorino.

70

6. XXXII. Siluano et Paulo.

In sexto autem mense Μαρία ἀπῆει πρὸς τὴν συγγενίδα αὐτῆς Ἑλισάβεδ καὶ ἔκρουσεν πρὸς τὴν θύραν. Καὶ ἀκούσασα ἡ Ἑλισάβεδ ἔρριψεν τὸ κόκκινον καὶ ἔδραμεν πρὸς τὴν θύραν καὶ ἤνοιξεν αὐτῇ καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτὴν καὶ εἶπεν· Πόθεν μοι τοῦτο ἵνα ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου μου ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ; Ἴδού γὰρ τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐσκήρτησεν καὶ εὐλόγησέν σε.'

75

XXXIII. Prisco et Romano.

XXXIII. Iuctore et Protarcho.

XXXV. Senecione et Bardone.

XXXVI. Timageno et Nigriano.

80

XXXVII. Syriano et Peregrino.

7. XXXVIII. Xifidio et Marcello.

In his temporibus, sub Augusto, natus est Iohannis praecursor, Zachariae filius, VIII kl. Iulias.

XXXVIII. Fruro et Autorino.

85

XL. Augusto et Sacerdo.

XLI. Pompeiano et Plutone.

XLII. Augusto et Siluano.

XLIII. Antulo et Iulio.

8. XLIII. Augusto et Silano.

90

Hisdem consulibus dominus noster Iesus Christus natus est, sub Augusto, VIII kl. Ianuar.: in deserto natus est <in spelunca> cuiusdam nomine Fuusdu, quod est Eusebii. In ipsa enim die, in qua natus est, pastores uiderunt stellam, Chuac XXVIII<I>.

Fiunt uero ab Adam usque ad natiuitatem domini nostri Iesu Christi anni V milia quingenti.

95

9. XLV. Vinicio et Vero.

XLVI. Caesare et Seruilio.

XLVII. Macrino et Saturnino.

XLVIII. Sacerdo et Voleso.

100

3,6. 72-76 Protev. Iac. 12,2, p. 118 de Strycker 3,8. 92 verba ἔρημος et σπήλαιον leguntur in Protev. Iac. 17,3-18,1, p. 146 de Strycker

|| 68 Silla: Suilio || 69 Augure: Auxonio || 70 Caesare: Caesario || 71 Paulo: Paulino 3,6. 73-74 *verba* καὶ ἔκρουσεν—καὶ ἤνοιξεν αὐτῇ *om.* E' || 76 *post* ἐσκήρτησεν *add.* infans E' 3,8 90 Silano: Siluano || 91 Iesus Christus *scripsit* Frick: ihs XPS E' || 92 in spelunca *coniec.* || 93 Fuusdu in Protev. Iac. *non legitur* || 94 XXXVIII *restitui*: XXVIII E' || 95-96 Iesu Christi *scripsit* Frick: ihu XPI E' 3,9. 97 Vinicio et Vero: Bincio et Birro || 98 Caesare et Seruilio: Caesario et Serbilio || 100 Voleso: Bolenso

10. XLVIII. Lepido et Arruntio.

In his diebus, sub Augusto, kalendas Ianuarias, Magi obtulerunt ei munera et adoraucrunt cum. Magi autem uocabantur Balthasar, Melchior, Gathaspa.

11. Καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρώδης α Magis, quoniam rex natus esset, ἐταράχθη, 105
et omnes Hierusolima cum eo. Τότε Ἡρώδης ἰδὼν ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ὑπὸ
τῶν μάγων ὀργισθεὶς ἔπεμψεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς φονευτὰς λέγων αὐτοῖς ἀνελεῖν
πάντα τὰ βρέφη ἀπὸ διετίας καὶ κάτω.

12. Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐξήτει τὸν Ἰωάννην, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὑπηρέτας ἐν τῷ 110
θυσιαστηρίῳ πρὸς Ζαχαρίαν λέγων αὐτῷ· 'Ποῦ ἀπέκρυψας τὸν υἱόν σου;
Οἶδας ὅτι τὸ αἷμά σου ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖράν μου ἐστίν;' Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν·
'Μάρτυς εἰμὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἔχε μου τὸ αἷμα. Τὸ δὲ πνεῦμά μου ὁ Δεσπότης
δέξεται.' Καὶ περὶ τὸ διάφανυμα ἐφονεύθη Ζαχαρίας.

13. L. Critico et Nerua.

LI. Camerino et Birillo.

115

LII. Dolabella et Silano.

14. LIII. Cyntilliano et Barbilio.

Ἡ δὲ Ἑλισάβεδ ἀκούσασα ὅτι Ἰωάννης ζητεῖται, λαβομένη αὐτὸν ἀνέβη 120
ἐν τῇ ὄρεινῃ· καὶ περιεβλέπετο ποῦ αὐτὸν ἀποκρύψει, καὶ οὐκ ἔνι τόπος
ἀπόκρυφος. Τότε στενάξασα Ἑλισάβεδ λέγει· "Ὅρος Θεοῦ, δέξαι με μητέρα
μετὰ τέκνου." Οὐ γὰρ ἐδύνατο ἡ Ἑλισάβεδ ἀναβῆναι διὰ τὴν δειλίαν. Καὶ
παραχρῆμα ἐδιχάσθη τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἐδέξατο αὐτήν.

LIIII. Germanico et Capitone.

LV. Austorio et Silano.

LVI. Planco et Apuleio.

125

15. LVII. Pompeio et Flacco.

His consulibus Augustus obiit. Et regnauit Tiberius ann. XXII. Dedit
consulatus VII.

3,11. 105 Protev. Iac. 21,2, p. 168 de Strycker: Καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρώδης
ἐταράχθη; 106–108 Protev. Iac. 22,1, p. 174 de Strycker: Τότε Ἡρώδης
ἰδὼν—καὶ κάτω. **3,12.** 109–110 Protev. Iac. 23,1, pp. 176–178 de
Strycker: Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης—τὸν υἱόν σου; 111 Protev. Iac. 23,2, p. 180 de
Strycker: Οἶδας ὅτι τὸ αἷμά σου ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖράν μου ἐστίν; 111–113 Protev.
Iac. 23,3, p. 180 de Strycker: Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν (Zacharias E'): Μάρτυς
εἰμὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ (uiuentis E'). Ἔχε μου τὸ αἷμα. Τὸ δὲ πνεῦμά μου ὁ Δεσπότης
δέξεται; 113 Protev. Iac. 23,3, p. 182 de Strycker: Καὶ περὶ τὸ διάφανυμα
ἐφονεύθη Ζαχαρίας **3,14.** 118–122 Protev. Iac. 22,3, pp. 174–176 de
Strycker

3,10. 103 Balthasar: Bithisarea || 104 Melchior: Melichior || *Magorum no-*
mina om Protev. Iac. || 107 ὀργισθεὶς *om.* E' **3,13.** 116 Dolabella et
Silano: Dolomallo et Sofiano || 121 *verba* Οὐ γὰρ ἐδύνατο ἡ Ἑλισάβεδ
ἀναβῆναι διὰ τὴν δειλίαν *om.* E' || 122 αὐτήν: eos E' || 123 Capitone:
Carpo || 124 Silano: Siluano || 125 Planco et Apuleio: Plachno et
Auito **3,15.** 126 Pompeio: Pompiiano

LVIII. Tiberio Augusto et Germanico.

LVIII. Flacco et Rufo.

130

16. LX. Druso et Norbano.

In his diebus ἐπένησαν Ζαχαρίαν καὶ ἐκόψαντο αὐτὸν τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας. Et suscitavit eis dominus deus in loco Zachariae Symeonem.

17. Οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ χρηματισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον ἕως ἂν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἴδῃ. Et uidens eum dixit: 'Nunc dimittis seruum tuum, domine, in pace, quia uiderunt oculi mei salutare[m] tuum, quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum, lumen ad reuelationem gentium et gloria plebis tuae Israhel' (h).

LXI. Tauro et Libone.

140

LXII. Silano et Gerontio.

LXIII. Messala et Balbo.

LXIV. Tiberio Aug. secundo et Cotta.

18. LXV. Agrippa et Druso.

Tunc responsum accepit Ioseph, et accipiens Iesum et Mariam fugiit in Egyptum et fuit ibi menses XII, de quo nunc sileam.

LXVI. Nerone et Lentulo.

LXVII. Cethego et Pisone.

LXVIII. Getulico et Varrone.

19. Et ueniens Iesus faciebat mirabilia sub consulato Asiatici et Silani, in quibus et aqua uinum fecit VI kl. Nou.

Crasso Tiberio.

Seriniano Secundo.

20. Baptizatus est autem ab Iohanne sub consolato Meura, VIII kl. Ianuarias.

155

LXVIII. Tiberio quarto et Antonino.

21. Transfiguratus est autem in monte sub consolato Rubellionis,

3,16. 132–133 Protev. Iac. 24,3,4, pp. 186–188 de Strycker 3,17.
135–136 Protev. Iac. 24,4, p. 188 de Strycker

h) Lc. 2,29–32

129 Germanico: Germano || 130 Flacco et Rufo: Flaubio et Rufino 3,16.
131 Druso et Norbano: Drusollo et Sorano || 132 Ζαχαρίαν ego: Zachariam
E' αὐτὸν de Strycker 3,17. 135 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος: ab angelo E' ||
137 salutare legendum: salutarem E' || 141 Silano: Siluano || 142 Messala
et Balbo: Mesaulico et Balbino || 143 Cotta: Colta 3,18. 147 LXVI
em. Frick: LVI E' || 148 LXVII em. Frick: LVII E' || Cethego: Celetho
|| 149 LXVIII em. Frick: LVIII E' || Getulico et Varrone: Getulo et Barro
3,19. 150 Silani: Siluani

XIII kalendas Aprilis. Quando autem mysterium agebat cum discipulis suis, sub consolato Rubellionis, VIII kal. Aprilis.

LXX. Tiberio quinto et Prisco.

160

22. LXXI. Vinicio et Arruntio.

Eodem tempore natalicium factum est Herodis. Saltauit filia Herodiadis in medio et petiit capud Iohannis. Et adductum est capud Iohannis in disco VI kl. Iunias, Pauni II.

23. Traditus est autem dominus noster Iesus Christus a Iuda sub consolato Rubellionis, VIII kl. Aprilis.

165

24. Videns autem hostiaria Petrum agnouit eum et ait illi: Vere et tu ex illis es, nam et loquilla tua manifestum te fecit. Et ille negauit dicens: Non sum. Et confestim gallus cantauit. Nomen autem hostiariae Ballia dicebatur, quod interpretaetur querens.

170

25. LXXII. Tiberio Augusto sexto et Silio.

Eodem anno dominus noster Iesus Christus crucifixus est sub consolato Rubellionis, VIII kl. Aprilis, quod est Famenoth XXVIII. Miles autem <crucem custodiens> uocabatur Hieremias, id est Adlas [crucem custodiens]. Centurio uocabatur Apronianus [alius].

175

26. Illi autem duo angeli qui in sepulchro uocabantur unus Azahel, quod est iustus deo, alius autem Caldu, quod est fortis. Iudas autem abiens suspendit se in arbore nomine tramarice.

27. Surrexit autem dominus noster Iesus Christus sub consolato Rubellionis, VI kl. Aprilis. Ascendit autem dominus noster III no. Maias. Missus est autem Spiritus Sanctus idos Maias. Paulus autem apostolus post ascensionem domini et post passionem Stephani dierum in apostulatum ordinatur VI<III> idos Ianuarias, sub consolato Rubellionis, post ascensionem Saluatoris nostri menses VIII, post dies XI passionis Stephani, pridie Epiphaniae.

185

LXXII. Sulpicio et Sulla.

LXXIII. Persico et Vitellio.

28. LXXIII. Tiberio A<u>gusto et Druso.

Hisdem consulibus Tiberius obiit. Et regnauit pro eo Gaius ille Gallus annos IIII. Dedit consulatos IIII.

190

LXXV. Gaio Gallo A<u>gusto tertio et Sulla.

LXXVI. Gaio A<u>gusto quarto et Asprenate.

LXXVII. Venusto et Saturnino.

3,22. 161 Vinicio: Bicino 3,25. 171 LXXII *em.* Frick: XXII E' || 174 Miles *scripsi*: Milex E' || crucem custodiens *post* autem *transposui* || 175 alius *dissographia antecedentis* -anus *ortum recte secl.* Frick 3,27. 183 VIII *requiritur*: VI E' || 186 LXXII: *sic legitur* || Sulpicio et Sulla: Sipio et Sulano || 187 Vitellio: Bitellio 3,28. 188-192 Augusto *ter emendavi*: Augusto E' || 192 Asprenate: Apollione

29. Scurdo et Clemente.

His consulibus Gaius Gallus obiit. Et regnavit pro eo Claudius ann. 195
<X>III. Dedit consulatos V.

LXXVIII. Claudio et Tauro.

LXXVIII. Crispo et Coruino.

LXXX. Asiatico et Sil[u]ano.

LXXXI. Vinicio et Vitellio. 200

LXXXII. Claudio secundo et Publicola.

LXXXIII. Vitellio et Gallo.

LXXXIII. Cla<u>dio tertio et Antonino.

LXXXV. Vetere et Suilio.

LXXXVI. Cla<u>dio quarto et Orfito. 205

LXXXVII. Sil[u]ano et Crispo.

LXXXVIII. Marcello et Aviola.

LXXXVIII. Nerone filio Claudii et Vetere.

XC. Claudio Augusto quinto et Vetere.

30. XCI. Saturnino et Scipione. 210

Hisdem consulibus Claudius obiit. Et imperium sumpsit filius eius
Nero annos <X>III. Dedit consulatos XIII.

XCII. Nerone Augusto secundo et Rufo.

XCIII. Saturnino et Publio.

31. XCIII. Nerone Aug<us>to tertio et Pisone. 215

Hisdem consulibus passus est beatus Petrus apostolus, crucifixus in
Roma capite deorsum, sub Nerone, similiter et Sanctus Paulus apo-
stolus capite truncatus. Martyrizauerunt III kl. Iulias, quod est Epifi V.

XCV. Mario et Gallo.

XCVI. Nerone et Cornelio. 220

XCVII. Rigolo et Basso.

XCVIII. Silano et Crispo.

XCVIII. Telesino et Salustio.

C. Capitone et Flauio.

3,29. 194 *numerus ante consules* Scurdo et Clemente *om.* E' || 196 XIII *requiritur*: IIII E' || 198 Crispo et Coruino: Crispino et Cornilio || 199 Silano: Siluano || 200 Vinicio et Vitellio: Bincomallo et Bereto || 201 Publicola: Publio || 202 Vitellio et Gallo: Bitellio et Gallione || 203 Claudio: Cladio || 204 Vetere et Suilio: Bereto et Siluio || 205 Claudio: Cladio || 206 Silano et Crispo: Siluano et Crispino || 207 Marcello et Aviola: Marcellino et Agiolao || 208 Nerone filio Claudii et Vetere: Nerone filio Claudio et Bereto || 209 XC *em.* Frick: CX E' || Vetere: Nerua **3,30.** 210 XCI *em.* Frick: CXI E' || 212 Nero annos XIII *requiritur*: IIII E' || 213 XCII *em.* Frick: CXII E' || 214 XCIII *em.* Frick: CXIII E' || Publio: Puplio **3,31.** 215 Augusto *corr.* Frick: augto E' || Pisone: Posone || 219 Mario et Gallo: Marcellino et Galliano || 220 Cornelio: Cornifilo || 221 Basso: Bassiano || 222 Silano et Crispo: Siluano et Crispino || 223 Telesino: Celestino

- CI. Romillo et Lucio. 225
 CII. Secundo et Maronio.
 CIII. Longino et Apulio.
 32. CIIII. Iulio et Paulino.
 Hisdem consulibus Nero de imperio labefactus est. Et imperium eius Galba suscepit menses IIII et occisus est. Et regnavit Otho menses 230 VII et occisus est. Et regnavit Bitelleo menses V et occisus est. Et imperium sumpsit Vespasianus annos X. Dedit consulatos VIII.
 33. Post consulatum Galbe Italico.
 CV. Vespasiano Augusto et Tito filio eius Caesare primo.
 CVI. Vespasiano Augusto secundo et Tito Caesare. 235
 CVII. Vespasiano tertio et Tito Caesare.
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 Hisdem consulibus uicti sunt Iudei sub Vespasiano et Tito imperatoribus et Iudea depopulata est.
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 35. CXII. Vespasiano nono et Tito.
 Hisdem consulibus Vespasianus obiit. Et imperium Titus inuasit annos II. Dedit consulatos II. 245
 CXIII. Tito Augusto octauo et Vero.
 36. CXIV. Siluano et Commodo.
 Hisdem consulibus Titus obiit. Et imperium eius sumpsit Dometianus annos <XV>. Dedit consulatos VIII.
 CXV. Dometiano Augusto primo et Messalino et Rufo. 250
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- CXXVI. Modesto et Bustro.
 CXXVII. Dometiano et Priscino.
 CXXVIII. Senecione et Palma.
 CXXVIII. Crispo et Sorano <***>.

IX

- 1,1. XII. Dioclitiano Augusto quinto et Maximi<a>no Caesare secundo.
 XIII. Maximi<a>no Caesare quinto et Maximi<a>no Caesare quinto.
 Fausto et Titiano clarissimorum.
 Constanti[n]o et Maximiano clarissimorum.
 Dioclitiano et Maximiano clarissimorum. 5
 Titiano et Nepotiano clarissimorum.
2. Constanti[n]o et Maxim<ian>o nouorum Caesarum quarto.
 Hisdem consulibus uenit Dioclitianus in Alexandria et ecclesias exterminauit. Et multi martyrizauerunt, in quibus et beatus Petrus episcopus Alexandrinus capite truncatus est. Martyrizauit VII kl. Decem. In 10
 eodem anno castrisius in Alexandria donatus est et Dioclitiano balneum edificatum est.
- Dioclitiano et Maxim<ian>o nobilium Augustorum septimo.
3. Dioclitiano et Maxim<ian>o octauo.
 Hisdem consulibus persecutio Christianorum facta est in occiduum. 15
 Et multi martyrizauerunt, in quibus et Timotheus episcopus in Chartagine gloriose martyrizauit.
- Dioclitiano nono et Constantio quinto nobilium Augustorum.
 Dioclitiano decimo et Maximiano octauo inuictissimorum.
4. Constanti[n]o Caesare et Maximiano nobili quinto. 20
 Hisdem consulibus Dioclitianus a regno recessit, et Constantius abiens sedit in Bizantio.
- Licinio et Constantino primo, nouorum Augustorum.
- 2,1. Licinio et Constanti<n>o secundo.
 Hisdem consulibus filius Dioclitiani Maxim<ian>us obiit. Et imperium 25
 tenuit Constantius cum filios suos.
- Constantino et Constantio clarissimorum.
 Rufino et Sabino clarissimorum.

262 Priscino: Prisco || 263 Senecione et Palma: Senetione et Palmato ||
 264 *post* Sorano *desiderantur plurima iuxta adnotationem Scaligeri*

1,1. 1-2 Maximiano *ter emendavi*: Maximino E' || 4 Constantio: Constantino
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Constanti<n>o Augusto quarto et Licinio Caesare tercio.
Volusiano et Anniano clarissimorum.

30

Gallic[i]ano et Basso clarissimorum.

2. Licinio et Crispo Caesaris.

Hisdem consulibus Constantius obiit. Et imperium obtinuit Constantinus cum quinque filios suos, <Constante> Constantio et Licinio et Crispo et Constantino, et condidit Constantinopolim.

35

Constantino Augusto quinto et Constanti<n>o nouo Caesare.

3. Constanti<n>o Augusto sexto et Licinio minimo primo.

Eodem anno manifestatum est honorabile lignum, crux domini et saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi, in Hierusolima per beatam Helenam imperatricem et matrem Constantini, XVIII kl. Octobris, quod est Thoth XVII.

40

Crispo et Constanti<n>o nobilissimos Caesares, filios Augusti, secundo. Seuero et Rufino clarissimorum.

Crispo et Constanti<n>o secundo Caesare.

4. Probi<a>no et Iuliano clarissimorum.

45

Eodem anno congregata est synodus in Nicea tricentorum decem et octo episcoporum sub Alexandro archiepiscopo Alexandriae, in qua et symbolum sanctae trinitatis manifestatum est et Arrii ferrocitas atque haeresis diminuta est.

Constantino Augusto quarto et Constante Augusto tercio.

50

Constantino Augusto quinto et Constante secundo, inuictissimorum Augustorum.

5. Licinio et Crispo nouorum Caesarum.

Eodem anno in Alexandria episcopus Alexander obiit Farmuthi XXII, et successit ei in sacerdotio Athanasius annos XLVI.

55

Constanti<n>o Augusto sexto et Constantio sexto.

Crispo et Licinio secundo.

Constantino septimo et Constante tercio Augustorum.

Lolliano et Iusto clarissimorum.

Constantino magno octauo et Constantino quarto Augustorum.

60

Gallicano et Simmacho clarissimorum.

Basso et Ablabio clarissimorum.

Pacatiano et Hilariano clarissimorum.

29 Constantino: Constantio || 30 Anniano: Annania || 31 Gallicano: Galliciano **2,2**. 34 Constante *inserui* || 36 Constantino: Constantio **2,3**. 37 Constantino *emendavi*: Constantio || 40 XVIII kl. Octobris: VIII kl. Decembris E' || 42 et 44 Constantino: Constantio **2,4**. 45 Probiano: Probino **2,5**. 53 Crispo: Crispino || 56 Constantino: Constantio || sexto *pr.*: septimo || 57 Crispo: Crispinio || 60 Constantino quarto Augustorum *correx*i et *transposui*: Constante Augustorum quarto || 61 Gallicano: Galliano || 62 Ablabio: Albino

- Dalmatio et Zenofilo clarissimorum.
 Optato et Paulino clarissimorum. 65
 Constanti[n]o nouo Augusto primo et Albino.
 6. Nepotiano et Facundo clarissimorum.
 Hisdem consulibus translati sunt in Constantinopolim Sanctus Andreas
 apostolus et Lucas euangelista X<II> kl. Iulias.
 Feliciano et Titiano clarissimorum. 70
 Urso et Polemio clarissimorum.
 Constantio Augusto secundo et Constante nouo Caesare primo.
 Acindyno et Proclo clarissimorum.
 Constantio tertio et Costante secundo Augustorum nobilium.
 Marcellino et Probino clarissimorum. 75
 Placido et Romulo clarissimorum.
 Leontio et Salustio clarissimorum.
- 3.1. Amantio et Albino clarissimorum.
 Eodem anno Constantinus maior imperator obiit, VI kl. Decembris.
 Et susceperunt imperium V filii eius. 80
 Constanti[n]o quarto et Constante tercio.
 Constanti[n]o quinto et Constante quarto, inuictissimorum Au-
 gustorum.
 Rufino et Eusebio clarissimorum.
 Limenio et Catullino clarissimorum. 85
 Sergio et Nigri<ni>ano clarissimorum.
2. Constantio sexto et Constanti[n]o, nouorum Augustorum.
 Hisdem consulibus Arriani inuaserunt ecclesias, et expulsus est bea-
 tus episcopus Alexandriae Athanasius.
 Constantio septimo et Constanti[n]o nouo secundo Augustorum. 90
 Arbitione et Iuliano clarissimorum.
 Constantio octauo et Constanti[n]o tercio Augustorum.
 Constantio nono et Lolliano.
 Datiano et Cereale clarissimorum.
 Constanti[n]o Augusto decimo et Iuliano Caesare secundo. 95
 Eusebio et Ypatio clarissimorum.
3. Constantio Augusto undecimo et Iuliano Caesare tercio.
 Hisdem consulibus Constanti[n]us imperator obiit. Et regnauit pro eo
 Iulianus annos V et dimidium. Eodem anno completi sunt X<I>

64 Dalmatio et Zenofilo: Dermatio et Zinofilo || 66 Constantio: Constantino
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 E' Frick

cycli saeculares, ab anno quingentesimo trecensimo secundo. Fiunt 100
uero ab Adam usque ad consulatum huius anni omnes anni V milia
octingenti LII[II].

4. Iuliano Augusto quarto et Sallustio clarissimo.

Eo anno maris ascendit et iterum recessit, X kl. Augustas, Epifi
XXVII. 105

4,1. Varroniano et Iuliano et Iouiano clarissimorum.

Eodem anno Iulianus imperator obiit, VI kl. Maias. Et regnauit Iouia-
nus menses VII et occisus est. Et regnauerunt pro eo duo fratres Valen-
tinianus annos XI et dimidium, similiter et Valens frater eius annos XIII.

Dedit autem Valentinianus consulatos IIII et Valens consulatos VI. 110

Valentiniano et Valente Augustorum.

Tauro et Florentio clarissimorum.

Valentiniano et Valente Augustorum.

Gratiano filio Valentiniani Caesare et <Da>galaifo.

2. Lupicino et Iouino clarissimorum. 115

Eo anno introiuit Tatianus in Alexandria primus Augustalius, VI kl.
Februarias.

Valentiniano et Valente Augustorum tercio, sub Tatiano Augustalio.

Valentiniano et Valente Augustorum quarto, sub eodem Tatiano

Augustalio. 120

3. Gratiano secundo clarissimo, sub eodem Tatiano Augustalio.

Eo anno martyrizauit Macarius Dorotheus in Alexandria, VII idos
Octobris, quod est Faofi duodecimo. Ferarum esca traditus est sub
Tatiano praeside, pro quo tunc erant heretici.

Modesto et Arintheo clarissimorum, sub Publio Augustalio. 125

4. Valentiniano et Valente quinto, sub eodem Publio Augustalio.

Hisdem consulibus <S>armati omnem Pannoniam desolauerunt, et
eo anno Valentinianus in bello mortuus est, VII idos Octobris.

Gratiano Augusto tercio et Equitio clarissimo, sub Tatiano praeside.

5. Gratiano Augusto quarto et Merobauda, sub eodem Tatiano 130
Augustalio secundo.

Hic condidit in Alexandria fluuium, qui uocatur Tatianus, et
portas fecit auro perfusas, quae nunc dicuntur Petrinas.

101 huius *em.* Frick: hius E' || 102 LII *requiritur*: LIII E' 4,1. 106
Varroniano: Barroniano || Iouiano: Iobiniano || 107-08 Iouianus: Iobinianus
|| 112 Tauro et Florentio: Paulo et Florentio || 114 Dagalaifo *emendari*:
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122 Macarius *coniec*; cf. *P.Lips.* I 100, col. IV 3, p. 296 Mitteis: beatus E'
4,4. 127 Sarmati *corr.* Kaufmann: armati E' || Pannoniam *corr.* Kaufmann:
Campaniam E'

6. Valentiniano Augusto quinto et Valente patruo eius Augustorum, sub eodem Tatiano Augustalio.
 Eo anno Athanasius episcopus obiit in Alexandri<a>, Pachon VII, 135
 et sedit pro eo Petrus archipresbiter annos VII.
- Valentiniano nouo Augusto quinto et Merobauda clarissimo, sub Palladio Augustalio.
7. Valente sexto et Valentiniano Augustorum, sub Tatiano Augustalio 140
 praesidae.
 Hisdem consulibus Valens obiit. Et imperium obtinuerunt Gratianus et Valentinianus nouus.
- Ausonio et Olybrio clarissimorum, sub Hadriano Augustalio.
 Eusebio et Olybrio clarissimorum, sub Hadriano Augustalio.
 Gratiano quarto et Dagalaifo clarissimorum. 145
 Lupicino et Eutropio clarissimorum.
8. Antonio et Eutropio clarissimorum, sub Paulino Augustalio.
 Eo anno Petrus episcopus Alexandrinus obiit in Alexandria, <Mechir uicensimo,> et sedit pro eo Timotheus frater eius annos V [Mechir uicensimo]. 150
9. Ausonio et Olybrio secundo clarissimorum, sub Bassiano praeside.
 Eo anno Theodosius eleuatus est in imperio sub Gratiano imperatore, in Sirmio, XIII kl. Febroar.
 Et regnavit annos XVI. Dedit consulatos III.
 Gratiano quinto et Theodosio primo nobilium Augustorum, sub 155
 Ypatio Augustalio.
10. Suagrio et Eucerio clarissimorum, sub Antonino Augustalio.
 Eo anno occisus est Gratianus imperator sub Maximo tyranno in Leuduna, VIII kl. Septembris, et eodem anno coronatus est in imperio Arcadius in Constantinopolim, V idus Septembris. 160
11. Richomero et Chlearco clarissimorum, sub eodem Antonino.
 Eo anno Timotheus episcopus Alexandrinus obiit, Epifi XXVI, et sedit pro eo Theofilus archidiaconus annos XXVIII et illos sacrilegos exterminauit.
12. Arcadio Augusto filio Theodosii et Baudone clarissimo, sub Fro- 165
 rentio Augustalio.
 Eo anno natus est Honorius in Constantinopolim, V idus Sep.
 Valentiniano Augusto III et Eutropio clarissimo.

4,6. 134 patruo *ego*: filio E' Frick || 136 Alexandria *em.* Frick: Alexandri E'
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